E
99
.C5
B8

307564

THE RELATIONS OF THE CHEROKEE INDIANS WITH THE ENGLISH IN AMERICA PRIOR TO 1763

by

David P. Buchanan

Appalachian Room
Appalachian State University Library
Boone, North Carolina

A THESIS.

(1923)

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Tennessee in partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHEROKEE.

Location of the Cherokee Country. - Divisions of the nation. - Towns and Villages. - Tunissee - Chote - Population - Personal appearance of the Cherokee - Dress - Homes - Religion - Religous Ceremonies and Marriage - Government - Weapons - War canoes- Factors in the demoralization of the Cherokee.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY VIRGINIA EXPLORATIONS.

Beginnings of Anglo-French Rivalry - Virginia most active English Colony - Founding of Fort Henry - Wood's Activities - John Doderer - Expedition of Batts and Fallam - Expedition of Needham and Arthur - Discovery of the Cherokee - Needham's return and death - Arthur's Adventures - Return of Arthur - Close of Wood's Activities - Trade with the Cherokee.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY SOUTH CAROLINA ACTIVITIES.

Reasons for Carolinian Activities - Slave trade - Introduction to the Cherokee - Slave Trade Continues - Carolina traders among the Indians - French Coureur de bois - Jean Couture - Expedition to the Arkansas - Expansion of Carolinas' trade - Queen Anne's War and French Ascendancy - Tuscarara Outbreak - Cherokee join the Yamasse in Revolt - First commercial treaty with the Cherokee.

CHAPTER IV.

BEGINNINGS OF ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY.

Early French activities on the Mississippi - Iberville founds Biloxi - English protest - Early French Activities among Southern Indians - The Choctaw - Chickasaw feud - English encourage the Chickasaw - French in contact with the Cherokee.- Founding of Fort Toulouse - Condition of affairs in 1720 - Gov. Nicholson's Treaty - Revolt of Fort Toulouse - Col. Chicken's mission -

283397

CHAPTER IV. Continued.

English attempt to make peace between Northern and Southern Indians - Sir Alexander Cumming's treaty - Natchez uprising - France declares war on the Chickasaw - Defeat of the French - Priber's mission to the Cherokee - The "Kingdom of Paradise" - Pro-French sentiment among the Cherokee - Outbread of smallpox - King George's War.

CHAPTER V.

DISSATISFACTION AMONG THE CHEROKEE

Situation in 1750 - French attempt to win Cherokee - Defeat of the Great Mortar - Results of French Attempts - Gov. James Glen - New system of Indian trade - War between Creeks and Cherokee trade - Gov. Glen protests - Robert Dinwiddie - Dinwiddie negotiates with Cherokee - Byrd - Randolph treaty with the Cherokee.

CHAPTER VI.

BUILDING OF FORTS IN TENNESSEE.

Cherokee ask for a fort - Dinwiddie - Glen correspondence regarding a fort - Maj. Lewis sent to the Cherokee Country - Building of Virginia fort - Hostility of the Cherokee - Gov. Glen send an expedition to the Cherokee Country - Building of Fort Loudoun - Capt. Raymond Demere - French influence among the Cherokee.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHEROKEE WAR.

General situation in 1757 - Dinwiddie attempts to garrison the Virginia fort - Cherokee aid the English in the French and Indian War - Treaty between the Cherokee and Iroquois - Treaty with be Creeks - Plans for attack on Fort Toulouse - Disaffection among the Cherokee - Campaign against Fort DuQuesne and desertion of the Cherokee - Beginning of the Cherokee War - Gov. Lyttleton makes peace - Imprisonment of Cherokee Chiefs - Gov. Bull becomes Governer - Campaign of Cols. Byrd and Montgomery - Retreat of Montgomery - Surrender of Fort Loudon - Massacre of Garrison - Capt. Stuart's escape - Col Grant's campaign - Defeat of the Cherokee - Peace.

Chapter I.

The Cherokee.

When the English first came into contact with the Cherokee, they found them settled in a line running east and west, about 140 miles in length.[1] Their extreme eastern settlements were located in the country lying between the Broad and Catawba Rivers in South Carolina; while their extreme western towns were located on the Hiwassee and Little Tennessee Rivers, in what is now the state of Tennessee.[2]

The Cherokee made two divisions of their country, which they termed Ayrate and Ottare, signifing "low" and"moutainous". The former applied to the extreme eastern settlements, the latter to the settlements beyond the mountains.[3] Historians of a later date, however, have made a three-fold division of the Cherokee country; the "Upper Towns" or "Over-hill Towns" were those upon the Hiwassee and Little Tennessee Rivers; the "Lower Towns" were those extreme eastern settlements located in South Carolina; while the "Middle Towns" were located high up in the mountains along the present boundary line of North Carolina and Tennessee.[4]

The Cherokee towns and villages were always found along some river or creek, both because of the greater fertility of the soil,

1. Adair, "History of the American Indians, pp.226.
2. Royce, "Cherokee Nation", pp.140, 141.
3. Adair, pp. 226.
4. Ramsey, "Annals of Tennessee, pp. 163.

and because of an ancient belief of these Indians that rivers were necessary to constitute a paradise.[5] The towns themselves consisted of a group of rude huts, arranged without order or regularity. To each house was attached a small patch of ground where the Indian Squaw cultivated beans and Indian corn. This garden usually was not fenced, as the domestic animals were not kept in the village, but were allowed to roam at large in the woods and canebrakes.[6]

The principal town of the Ayrate was Keowee, located on the Keowee River in what is now Oconee County, South Carolina. Other towns of importance among the Ayrate were Tuskegee, Elejoy, Noyoee, and Sugar Town.[7] The chief town of the Ottare in the beginning of the eighteenth century was Tunissee, or Tennessee, which was situated on the south bank of the Little Tennessee River, not far above its junction with the Tellico. It was here in the earlier period that the great councils were held;[8] and it was here also that the crown and chief symbols of the nation were kept.[9] This town, however, declined in importance until in 1763 it possessed only 21 fighting men.[10] With the decline of Tunisee, Chote became the town of chief importance, especially during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Chote was the 'City of Refuge', the place where the manslayer or unfortunate captive could find a sure asylum

5. Adair, pp.226, 227.
6. Ramsey, pp.86.
7. Mereness, "Travels in American Colonies", pp.101,103,104.
8. Ibid, pp.112.
9. Hewatt, "History of South Carolina", pp.4-6, Vol. 11.
10. Timberlake, "Memoirs", map

from the avenger. The town was located on the Little Tennessee River, about five miles above its junction with the Tellico.[11] Other towns of importance amont the Ottare were Citico, Great Tellico, Chilhowee, Tommotley, and Toqua.[12]

When the white man first came into contact with the Cherokee they were a populous and powerful tribe. A census taken in 1715 by Gov. Johnson of South Carolina, of all the Indian tribes within his jurisdiction showed that the Cherokee nation contained 30 towns and an aggregate population of 11,210, of whom 4000 were warriors.[13] Since the South Carolinians were barely acquainted with the Over-hill towns at this time it is quite likely that they were not included in this census. In 1735 English traders reported that the Cherokee had 60 towns and villages and 6000 fighting men.[14] However, in 1738 the Cherokee nation was greatly depopulated by smallpox, which was brought into their country by Carolina traders. It is estimated that fully one-half of the nation was destroyed by this disease alone.[15] Constant warfare with their neighbors, both white and red, further decreased their numbers, and by 1755, they had but 2590 warriors.[16] By the close of the Cherokee War in 1761, this number had further decreased to approximately 2300.[17]

The Cherokee were of medium stature, straight and well-built,

11. Ibid, map
12. Timberlake, map
13. Royce, pp.142.
14. Adair, pp.237
15. Ibid, pp.232.
16. "North Carolina Colonial Records", Vol. V pp.320-321.
17. Adair, pp. 227

Their skin was of an olive color, though generally painted; and after the advent of the white man they further disfigured it by tatooing. All of their hair was either shaved or plucked out by the roots except a small patch on the back part of the head. Their ears were quite often slit and stretched to twice their normal size. Ornaments were often suspended from both the ears and nose. Before the white man came into their country, their dress was very simple, consisting of a breech-cloth, moccasins and a skin cloak or mantle for use in winter. With the advent of the white man, however, their dress tended more and more to be copied from his.[18]

Their homes were superior to those of most Indians. They were made of posts placed upright in the ground, palisade-fashion. These were then interwoven with twigs and plastered with clay, and the whole covered with boards. Quite often these homes were very pretentious affairs, some being two stories high, 60 or 70 feet long, and 16 feet wide. The greatest inconvenience, however, lay in the want of a chimney, a small hole cut in the roof being the only opening assigned for the smoke.[19]

The Cherokee religion was rather indefinite. Every man had the privilege of thinking out his religious problems for himself. Where any thinking was done this naturally led to a diversity of beliefs. Most of them, however, did but very little thinking on the matter, being content to accept things as they were without concerning themselves, with religious problems. In general though

18. Timberlake, p. 49.
19. Ibid, pp.59,60.

they concurred in the belief of one superior being who created them and ruled all things. "The Man Above", he was called. They also believed in the immortality of the soul, with a reward for the just and a punishment for the unjust.[20]

They had very few religious ceremonies or stated times for worship. Their principal ceremony was the green corn dance, the purpose of which was to return thanks to the man above for the sending of the corn. This ceremony was performed in the front of the town house in a very solemn and impressive manner. There were no marriage ceremonies whatever. The common law marriage was the only system that was practiced, and it was not binding in the least. A man could leave his wife whenever he chose, and could marry as often and as many times as he liked. It was quite a common thing for a person to change as many as three or four times a year, though where there were children the marriage often lasted throughout life.[21]

The Cherokee Government--if it can be said to have been a government - contained neither laws nor power to enforce authority. The chiefs, or headmen, were chosen, both for their prowess in war and for their policies at home. They could organize and lead expeditions against an enemy, but could neither compel anyone to go nor prevent him from deserting whenever he chose. They tried, therefore, to inspire enthusiasm in their subjects, both by their own example and by war songs. These chiefs made up the assemblies,

20. Timberlake, p. 65.
21. Ibid, pp. 64,65.

or Councils, of the nation, though at time women, who had distinguished themselves in war, were admitted.[22]

They seldom buried their dead, but threw them into the river. The possessions of the dead man were likewise destroyed, so that a man could not become wealthy through inheritance, but only through his own efforts.[23]

The principal Cherokee weapons were bows and arrows, darts, scalping knives, and tomahawks. Guns were also used after the advent of the white man. The tomahawk was often so constructed, with hollow bowl and handle, that it could be used as a pipe also. They were very proficient in the use of this weapon, both at close quarters and at a distance, wielding it with deadly effect in a hand-to-hand conflict, and throwing it with great skill at a distant enemy.[24]

Their war-like expeditions were conducted by water whenever this was possible, and their war canoes were their principal means of transportation. These were usually made from a large pine or poplar, sometimes thirty of forty feet long, and about two feet broad. Before the coming of the white man they hollowed the trunk of the tree by fire, but later they obtained tools from the traders which enabled them to accomplish this much more quickly and conveniently. When completed, the canoe was capable of carrying fifteen or twenty, and the Cherokee were very proficient in it's use. Bark

22. Ibid, p.70.
23. Ibid, p.67
24. Ibid, pp.51,52.

canoes were also occasionally used, but these were found mostly among the Northern Indians.[25]

Perhaps the two most potent factors in the demoralization of the Cherokee were the Indian traders and the English Government's Indian policy. Before these brought about their downfall the Cherokee were prosperous and contented. Due to the natural fertility of the soil, their crops were always sufficient for their needs, and the country abounded in game. Their villages, too, contained an abundance of domesticated animals of various kinds. The warriors were frank, sincere, and honest, and for the most part, peaceful. It is true that sporadic warfare was carried on with neighboring tribes, but it was mostly by way of diversion and did no very great damage. However, the white man changed all of this. The Indian trader was usually a man of vicious habits and lax morals, and cared nothing whatever for the rights and privileges of the Indian. He corrupted the personal life of the Indian, encouraged him to wage war in the hope of getting slaves, and cheated him at every opportunity. In addition to these things, the English government poured cheap goods into the Cherokee country in an attempt to hold the friendship of this important tribe, with the result that the Indian depended more and more upon this for his existence, and became too lazy and proud to do any work for his own support. Constant dickering with him also increased his feeling of self-importance, and he became ever more haughty and arrogant.[26]

25. Ibid. pp.60,61
26. Adair, pp.229,230

Chapter II.

Early Virginia Explorations.

The latter half of the seventeenth century marked the beginning of the struggle between France and England for the possession of the Mississippi Valley, and brought about the introduction of white men to the Cherokee Indians and, incidentally, the discovery of the future state of Tennessee. Of the two rival claimants to the North American Continent the French were, on the whole, more active and enterprising. From their original settlements at Quebec and Montreal they pushed rapidly up the St. Lawrence River, discovered the Great Lakes, and laid claim to all the adjoining country. On June 14, 1761, a little band of Frenchmen at Sault Ste. Marie formally took possession of the heart of the North American continent for their monarch, Louis XIV.[26] From this point their explorers turned southward and in 1682 LaSalle succeeded in following the Mississippi to the Gulf, thus strengthening the claim of France to this great inland valley.

Contrasted with this bold and rapid advance of the French, the English moved more slowly and cautiously. As a rule they did not push out into the unknown until their settlements had advanced far enough to offer a safe base for their operations. Yet when they did advance in this way, they naturally established themselves more securely than did their rivals from the north.

26. Alvord and Bidgood, "Explorations of the Trans-Alleghany Region", pp. 1,2.

In this early period the English Colony which contributed most toward the exploration of the trans-Allegheny region was Virginia. Being the oldest and strongest colony she naturally had a greater opportunity of expending her energies in such enterprises, and her geographical position further enabled her to do so. In 1645, following the Indian outbreak of 1644, the Virginia Assembly provided for the establishment of four forts along the fall line of the James and Appomattox Rivers. Of these, Fort Henry, at the falls of the Appomattox, where the present city of Petersburg stands, was of greatest importance to later history.

Finding the cost of maintaining these forts out of all proportion to the income derived from them, the Assembly decided upon the plan of turning them over to private individuals, who would care for them and receive in compensation lands and trading privileges. In accordance with this plan, Fort Henry was turned over to Abraham Wood in 1646.[27]

Four years after Wood's establishment at Fort Henry he undertook the first of a series of explorations which were destined eventually to extend very greatly the boundaries of the colony of Virginia and the English empire in America. In the latter part of August 1650 Wood set out from Fort Henry at the head of a party of six white men and an Indian guide, with the intention of visiting a tribe of Tuscarora Indians living in southwestern Virginia.

27. Ibid, pp. 28-30.

In five days the party covered a distance of approximately 120 miles, but finding the Indians along their route becoming more hostile each day, they were forced to turn back without having reached their destination.[28] Nothing of any very great importance was accomplished on this expedition, but it paved the way for other and more important explorations which were to come a few years later. As a result of this expedition Major Wood was given recognition by the Virginia Assembly. In November 1652 that body granted to Major Wood and his associates all trading privileges for a period of fourteen years in any new lands which they might discover.[29] Thus the Assembly was able to forward the cause of exploration on a self-supporting basis.

Encouraged by the hope of large gains in the fur trade, Wood continued to fit out expeditions for exploration. It was nearly twenty years. however, before he was able to accomplish anything of any very great importance in this line. In 1669 he discovered in the colony a German physician by the name of John Lederer, who had a passion for exploring new lands. Three times in the years 1669-'70 Wood fitted out Lederer and sent him upon expeditions of discovery. Twice Lederer was able to reach the summit of the Blue Ridge, but was never able to explore the country beyond the mountains. Upon his return from his third expedition Lederer, for unknown causes, was forced to leave the colony in some haste, and by his departure Virginia lost one of her most valuable explorers.[30]

28. Bland,"Discovery of New Britaine", in Alvord & Bidgood, pp. 114-130.
29. Order of Virginia Assembly in Alvord & Bidgood, pp.102.
30. Alvord & Bidgood, pp.62-70.

In the year following Lederer's departure from the colony Wood fitted out another expedition for the purpose of exploring the country beyond the mountains and endeavoring to find the South Sea. The party consisted of Captain Thomas Batts, Robert Fallam, Thomas Wood, Jack Weason, and Perecute, an Appomattox Chieftain. The party set out from Fort Henry on Sept. 1, 1671, traveling toward the Blue Ridge. Five days out, Wood became dangerously ill, and they were forced to leave him at a Hanahaskie Indian town where he ~~did~~ died before their return.

On the eighth day of their journey the explorers reached the foot of the first range of the Blue Ridge Mountains. From this time their travel became very slow and difficult, and five days were consumed before they succeeded in crossing the last range of mountains. Here, much to their joy, they found westwardly flowing waters. Their pride in their discovery, however, was somewhat dimmed by finding letters burned in the bark of trees, proving that other persons of unknown origin had preceded them in their discovery. Their provisions were now exhausted; yet they continued for four days in a southwesterly direction, and on the sixteenth day of their journey came to the banks of the New River. On the next day, which was Sept. 17, 1671, they formally took possession of the country for his majesty, King Charles II. Four trees were selected and marked; one for King Charles II; one for Gov. Berkeley; one for Major Wood; and the fourth for Perecute, the Appomattox chieftain, who promised to become an Englishman.

The party now turned back and retraced their journey to Fort Henry, where they arrived on Oct. 1, just one month after the time of their departure.[31]

The results of this expedition were two-fold. In the first place, it was the first organized English expedition to explore the region beyond the mountains, and as such it formed the basis for the later claims of the English to this territory. In the second place, it showed to Wood and his associates the vast possibilities of their new discovery, and led directly to the discovery, of the Cherokee Nation but a short time later.

Wood's next expedition was fitted out in April 1673. The men in charge were Gabriel Arthur and James Needham. With a party of eight Indians and provisions for a three months journey they left Fort Henry on April 10, 1673, following the trail which Major Wood had taken on his first expedition more than twenty years before. However, the Indians, along the route had become very hostile in the past few years, and now they forced Needham and Arthur to turn back before even reaching the foot of the Blue Ridge.[32]

Undaunted by the failure of this expedition, Wood started them out again on May 17 of the same year with eight Indians and four horses. Following the usual trail toward the Blue Ridge, the party succeeded in passing safely through the territory of hostile Indians, and on June 25 met with a band of about fifty Cherokee.

31. Fallam's Journal, printed in Alvord & Bidgood, pp.183-193.
32. Alvord & Bidgood, pp. 79-80.

Appalachian Room
Appalachian State University Library
Boone, North Carolina

Eleven of the Cherokee continued on to Fort Henry carrying a letter from the two explorers to Major Wood, while the remainder turned back with them. Resting but a short time at Fort Henry, the eleven Cherokee hastened back after Needham and Arthur bearing a letter from Major Wood. So fast was their progress that they succeeding in overtaking the first party before they reached the mountains. By this time all of the original Appomattox Indian guides had deserted except one. The danger and hardships of the journey had proven too great for them.

Arriving at the foot of the Blue Ridge the travelers began the laborious ascent. Four days were consumed in reaching the summit, part of the time the traveling being so difficult that they were forced to walk and lead their horses. The descent of the other side, however, was found to be much easier and they accomplished this in but half a day. For a number of days after this they traveled in sight of the Smoky Mountains, and observed the phenomena which gives these mountains their name. By this time all of their horses except one had died as a result of starvation and hard work.

Traveling always westward and passing through a country abounding in game, they arrived at last at a Cherokee town. This town was situated on a high bluff overlooking a westwardly flowing river, and was protected by a stockade fort twelve feet high. The travelers were well received here. Their horse was fastened in the center of the village, and they, themselves were placed on a scaffold so that all might see them.

These Indians were already familiar with the Spaniards in Florida, and had carried on a trade with them for some time, as was evidenced by some sixty antiquated rifles which they had their possession. The last trading party, however, had met with ill-usage from the Spaniards. Ten of them had been killed and the others imprisoned. Two of these, however had succeeded in escaping and returned to tell of their misfortune. This ill-treatment by the Spaniards bred in the Cherokee an abiding hatred of that nation.

Remaining but a short time among the Cherokee, Needham set out on the return journey to Fort Henry, leaving Arthur behind to learn the language of the nation. In addition to the Appomattox guide, twelve Cherokee accompanied him on the journey. The party traversed the territory of hostile Indians without mishap and arrived safely at their destination on Sept. 10.

Resting at Fort Henry but ten days, Needham started again for the Cherokee country, intending to spend the winter there and return with Arthur in the spring. He had not progressed far, however, when he was treacherously murdered by Hasecoll, or Indian John, the same Indian who had remained faithful to him throughout his past journey. Picking a quarrel with him on a flimsy pretext, the Indian shot him down before he had an opportunity to defend himself or before the Cherokee could come to his assistance. Stooping the Indian cut out Needham's heart, and, holding it up, bade defiance to the whole English nation.

In the meantime Arthur had been well entertained among the Cherokee. Yet when they learned of the fate of Needham from the

returning warriors, many were in the favor of putting Arthur to death. During the absence of the king they seized him and bound him to a stake in the center of the village, around which they piled a great heap of combustible canes. Before they could light this pile, however, the king arrived upon the scene and forcibly rescued Arthur, shooting down one of the warriors who disputed his authority.

Arthur was then virtually adopted as a member of the tribe for the time being, and was forced to accompany the warriors on their expeditions. The first of these was directed against the Spaniards in Florida, and from a military point of view, was a failure. The adobe houses of the Spaniards were a sure protection against the Cherokee, but they succeeded in waylaying and murdering a Spaniard and a negro.

The next expedition was directed against a tribe of Indians living near Port Royal, South Carolina. Arthur refused to accompany the expedition until assured that no harm would be done to the English. This expedition was more successful than the first, an entire Indian village being wiped out and much spoil falling into the possession of the victors. True to their word the Cherokee allowed an Indian trader who was in the village to escape.

The third expedition came near being a tragic one for Arthur. In an attack on a Shawnee village to the north, he was twice wounded, and was captured by the Shawnees. After scouring him

with water and ashes to see if his skin was really white, they finally concluded that he was a new kind of being and allowed him to return to the Cherokee.

After making a short hunting expedition down the river, the king began preparing to conduct Arthur back to Fort Henry. About May 10, 1674, with eighteen warriors laden with goods, they began the long and perilous journey. All went well until they arrived at the place where Needham was murdered. Near this place they encamped for the night, and were attacked by a small party of hostile Indians. Not waiting to learn the number of the attackers the Cherokee fled, and in the night became separated. Arthur was forced to continue the journey to Fort Henry with but one companion, arriving safely on June 18. It was not until July 20 that the Cherokee King with a part of his warriors arrived, and was liberally rewarded by Abraham Wood for his many kindnesses to his lieutenants. The king departed in a few days promising to return in the following autumn.[33]

Although this expedition has been almost entirely ignored by historians, it was nevertheless of great significance. It opened up trading relations between the Virginians and the Cherokee, and firmly secured that powerful nation to the English interests. It established the English upon the tributaries of the Ohio long before the French had begun an exploration of this region, and thus gave to them a prior claim to all of this territory.

33. A. Wood to John Richards, Aug. 22, 1674. printed in Alvord and Bidgood, pp. 210-226.

Wood's activities as promoter of explorations virtually ended with this expedition. He applied to the Virginia Assembly for aid at the time of Needham's return, but that body did not even answer his letter.[34] A little later he made a similar appeal to the English government, but this too was barren of results and he was forced to give over his great enterprise.[35] Others, however, took up the work where he had left it, and a brisk trade was soon in progress with the Cherokee. In 1690 one Dougherty, a Virginian trader, was reported as residing among the Cherokee and carrying on a trade with them.[36] By the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century great pack trains, sometimes of as many as one hundred horses, plied regularly between Virginia and the Cherokee nation. Each horse bore a pack of from 150 to 200 lbs, containing firearms, ammunition, blankets, paint, jewelry, and many other cheap articles dear to the heart of the savage.[37] These pack trains, however, did not follow the route of Needham and Arthur, but instead swung around the southern end of the Appalachian range and thence north to the Cherokee, making a journey of some 500 miles in length.[38] Had they but known of the easier route down the valley of Virginia and across to the Holston, it would have shortened the journey to a very great extent, and would have enabled them to compete on a much more equal footing with the Carolinians. As it was, however, the influence of Virginia amont the Cherokee declined, and South Carolina was destined to play the more important part in the affairs of that nation, pp to the middle of the eighteenth century.

34. Ibid. p. 214
35. Ibid. P. 226
36. Logan, "History of Upper South Carolina", p. 168
37. Byrd's "Writing" pp. 234, 235.
38. Byrd's "History of Dividing Line" pp. 141, 142.

Chapter III.

Early South Carolina Relations.

Following the establishment of the English Colony of South Carolina in 1670, the influence of the Virginians among the Southern Indians slowly declined, and the influence of this colony increased proportionally. There were two reasons why this was inevitable; in the first place, the long march which the Virginia traders took in going around the southern end of the Appalachians made the expense of their Indian trade so great that they were unable to compete on the same footing with the nearer Carolina traders. In the second place, the location of the South Carolina settlements made it absolutely imperative that she maintain friendly relations with the Indians. The Spaniards were on her southern frontier; the French on the southwest; while the Indians completely surrounded her. A coalition of these three powers or even a general Indian uprising, would have completely wiped out the infant colony before aid could have arrived from the other colonies or from England. Consequently the very existence of the colony depended upon her Indian policy. The Cherokee, being one of the largest and most warlike of the Southern tribes, would naturally receive a great deal of attention from the South Carolinians, especially since the eastern boundaries of this tribe lay well within their territories, while the western part of the tribe controlled the passages of the Appalachian Mountains.

The first introduction of the Carolinians to the Cherokee was brought about by the institution of the slave trade. Four years after the founding of Charleston there was a general uprising of the Stono Indians in eastern South Carolina. Finding himself unable to raise money for the paying of troops to go against these Indians, Gov. West offered a bounty for each Indian taken alive and later sold such captives as slaves into the West Indies.[39] This policy naturally led to a great many abuses and caused a great deal of friction with the Indians. Unscrupulous traders encouraged Indian wars in order to buy the captives and sell them as slaves; while hunters and traders quite often seized friendly Indians and sold them despite their protestations of friendship.

So great became the abuses of the slave trade, that when Gov. Morton was sent over in 1682 he was instructed by the proprietors of the colony to take all Indians within a radius of 400 miles under his protection and to treat them with humanity and tenderness. The trade, however, had gained such headway, by this time that the governor could do but little to stop it, and the practice continued.[40]

It was during this state of affairs that twenty Cherokee Chiefs arrived in Charleston in 1693. They made presents and proposals of friendship to Gov. Smith, and asked his protection against the Savannah, Esau and Congaree Indians. These Indians,

39. Logan "Hist. of Upper South Carolina." pp.188-193.
40. Hewitt, "History of South Carolina" p. 91.

they said, had attacked their eastern towns, captured many of their people, and sold them as slaves to the Charleston merchants, all of which was contrary to former regulations established among the different tribes. Governor Smith assured the chiefs that he was very desirous of securing the friendship of the great Cherokee nation and that he would take every means of preventing a repetition of such abuses in the future.[41]

In spite of the Governor's attempts the traffic in slaves still continued. As long as there were immense profits to be made, unprincipled traders found a means of evading the Government officials. To remedy this the Assembly in 1707 passed an Act requiring every trader to take out a license costing 8 lbs. and to make bond of 100 lbs. This act also provided for a general Indian agent to live among the Indians, and see that the traders treated them fairly and obeyed the laws for their regulation.[42]

These Indian agents, however, were quite often no better than the traders themselves. In 1711 John Wright was sent among the Savannah Indians to remedy certain abuses of the traders, of which the Indians had complained. Instead of following his instructions, however, he immediately engaged in the slave trade himself. He sold a number of Creeks and one Cherokee, Shela, a relative of the King of Tupaloo. This act created a great deal of hard feeling on the part of the Indians against the English, and was largely responsible for the Creeks deserting the French soon after.[43]

Throughout all of this time the Carolinians were extending their Indian trade rapidly. It is difficult to determine at just

41. Ibid. p. 127
42. Logan. pp.170-172.
43. Ibid. p. 182

what time their traders came into contact with the Cherokee, but it was doubtless soon after the coming of the Cherokee Chiefs to Charleston, if not before that time. In 1694 Tonti, the French Commandant of the Illinois country, reported that the Carolinian traders were established on one of the branches of the Ohio, which was doubtless the Tennessee and its tributaries; and this would indicate that they were carrying on a trade with the Cherokee at this time. Since these were the extreme western towns of the Cherokee, it is thought that they were established among the eastern towns as early as 1690.[44]

In this work of expanding their fur trade the Carolinians received invaluable assistance from renegade French Coureurs de bois who had deserted from one or another of the French forts up and down the Mississippi. The most notable of the renegades was Jean Conture, one of Tosti's men, who had formerly commanded a French post on the Arkansas River. Becoming dissatisfied with his treatment by the French, he deserted in 1690 and joined the Carolinians, where he became famous as the greatest of all early Carolinian traders. In his journey from the Arkansas to Charleston he followed the Tennessee River to one of it's sources in the mountains, the first white man known to have done this.[45]

Arriving in Charleston, Couture was joyfully received by the Carolinian merchants and traders. He urged upon the English officials the necessity of extending their trade to the westward in order to hold the Indians of this region loyal to them. For

44. Crane "The French on the Tennessee" in Mississippi Valley Historical Review. Vol. III. p. 6.

45. Ibid. p. 6.

a number of years, however, his arguments seem to have had little effect, but he was kept busily engaged in various schemes of trading, mining, and exploration. Following the establishment of the French on the Gulf in 1699, Gov. Blake seems to have realized the danger to Carolina, and decided to follow Couture's advice. An expedition was fitted out and placed under Couture's guidance. Instead of following the usual overland route of traders, this party crossed the mountains to the Tennessee, floated down this river to Ohio, thence down the Ohio and Mississippi to the Arkansas, and up this river to the post formerly commanded by Couture. Arriving here they immediately opened trading relations with the neighboring Indians.[46]

The purpose of this party was not only to secure profits from the fur trade, but also to bind the western Indians in firm alliance to the English. In this manner they hoped to control a part of the Mississippi River, and thus cut off the communication between the northern and southern parts of the French Empire in America. For a time it seemed as though this plan might succeed. In 1701 three renegade coureurs de bois were induced to visit Gov. Moore in South Carolina and negotiate with him concerning the opening up of a trade between themselves and the province to South Carolina. These men made the long voyage up the Tennessee and Little Tennessee, portaging across the mountains to the Savannah, and thence down this river to Charleston. They reported that they found English traders very active among the Cherokee on the Little Tennessee and Hiwassee at this time. Arriving in Charleston they made arrangements whereby they and fifteen of their fellows might return to trade the following year. However, when these

46. Ibid. pp. 14-17.

plans were made known in New France steps were immediately taken to prevent their consummation.[47]

Shortly after this the English went a step further, and, through the Cherokee, induced the Illinois Indians to bring their furs to Charleston for the purpose of trade. It was at this time also that an alliance was made with the Chickasaw and Natchez, and even the Choctaw became divided in their allegiance.[48] It seemed for a time that the English would be successful in carrying out their plans, and would gain control of the Mississippi. Their expansion in this direction, however, had come just a little late. The French had already become securely intrenched in this region, and through their missions, as well as other agencies, they exerted an influence which succeeded in closing the Mississippi to the English. The outbreak of Queen Anne's War came soon after, and this prevented the Canadians from revisiting Carolina with their furs.[49]

During Queen Anne's War French influence came into the ascendancy among the southern Indians. Realizing the danger to South Carolina, Thomas Nairne, first Indian agent, conceived a scheme for the protection of the province. His plan, as adopted in 1707, provided for the conversion or destruction of the Choctaw and other Indians in close alliance with the French, and the removal of the Chickasaw and Yazoo tribes to the upper waters of the Tennessee. By a consolidation of these Indians with the Cherokee, and the

47. Ibid. pp. 14-17.
48. Alvord. "Illinois Country" p.144.
49. Crane. "French on the Tennessee". pp. 17-18.

building of small forts at important points he hoped to remove forever the danger of invasion of the province from the westward. In making his plans, however, he overestimated the influence of the English among these western Indians. Though willing enough to transfer their trade from the French to the English, they had not as yet reached the point where they would change their homes and hunting grounds merely to please the latter nation. Consequently Nairne was forced to give up his plan for the time being, and when he attempted to revive it a few years later circumstances had rendered it's success more impossible than ever.[50]

In 1712 the Tuscarora Indian made war upon South Carolina. Fearing the outbreak of a general Indian war upon her borders the province took immediate steps to crush the Tuscaroras. An expedition was organized under Colonel Barnwell, and friendly Indian tribes were called upon to punish warriors. True to their friendship for the English the Cherokee sent 218 of their warriors, who served throughout the campaign and aided in the subjugation of the Tuscaroras. However, settlers along the route of Colonel Barnwell's march were almost persuaded that they preferred the open hostilities of the Tuscaroras to the free-boating propensities of their allies, the Cherokee.[51]

In 1715 the Yamasses, occupying the southwesterly portion of South Carolina, declared hostilities against the settlers. It was believed by the Carolinians that they were inspired to take this action by the Spaniards at St. Augustine and the French at Mobile.

50. Ibid. p. 18.
51. Royce, "Cherokee Nation" p.140.

The Tuscaroras, seeing an opportunity of avenging their defeat of three years before, joined with them. At length the Creeks and Cherokee were also induced to dig up the hatchet against their former friends, the English. The war raged bitterly for more than a year, and many settlements were sacked and burned by the allied tribes. At length, however, Colonels Chicken and Moore inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Indians, and pursued them across the mountains into the country of the Over-hill Cherokee, laying waste their country as they passed through. Despairing of success the Indians then sued for peace.[52]

In 1716 South Carolina formed a commercial treaty with the Cherokee. This was accomplished as the result of the diplomacy of Col. James Moore on the one side and Charity Hayge, a Cherokee Conjuror and friend of the English on the other. This treaty merely provided for a regular exchange of goods between Charleston and the Cherokee nation. As a result of it $10,000 worth of goods were sent up to Savannah Town as soon as pack horses could be procured to convey them.[53]

This treaty is important in that it is the first treaty recorded between the English and the Cherokee, and it marked the beginning of that policy of the English which led to their making the Indians completely dependent upon them for supplies, eventually taking away their self-dependence and self respect.

52. McCrady "History of South Carolina" Vol. 1, pp. 533-546.
53. Logan, pp. 241-242.

Chapter IV.

BEGINNINGS OF ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY.

In the exploitation of the great Mississippi valley the French preceeded the English both in the time of exploration, and in attempts at settlement. In 1682 La Salle made his memorable trip from Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi; and from this time was born a desire in France to establish a great colonial empire in the heart of the North American continent. La Salle's untimely death, however, checked the growth of the plan, and it was not until near the close of the century that the first important steps were taken to carry it out. On July 23, 1698, an expedition was fitted out under the command of the Sieur d'Iberville with instructions to reconnoiter the mouth of the Mississippi and build a fort, in order that no other nation might secure control of the great inland valley. Iberville arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi on March 2, 1799. After exploring the river for some distance he built a fort at Biloxi; then sailed for France on May 3.[54]

In the establishment of Biloxi the French had beaten the English by only a few months. On Aug. 29, 1699, an English vessel, sent out to take possession of the valley, entered the mouth of the Mississippi and sailed up the river for about one hundred miles. Here it was encountered by the Sieur de Bienville, Iberville's brother, who ordered the captain to turn back, as the country had already been

54. Atvord. "Illinois Country" p. 126.

occupied by the French. The captain disputed the Frenchman's claim to the region, but was forced to yield and sail back to England.[55]

The French establishment at Biloxi did not prosper very greatly in its early history; yet it was necessary that it be maintained in order to hold the control of the Mississippi. It was soon seen by the French that the success of their scheme of colonization would depend upon their Indian policy. In the more settled English colonies the officials adopted more and more a contemptuous attitude toward the Indians, until finally by sheer force of numbers they were destined to sweep away the obstructing aborigines. But in the Fr nch colonies with their sparse population no such attitude could be adopted. Their relation with the Indians must be based upon mutual regard and self-interest; and wherever they were left undisturbed by the British they were fairly successful in this policy.[56]

Most of the Indians of the extreme south soon came under the French influence; the most notable ribe being the Choctaws. This very fact, however, precluded the possibility of their winning over the warlike Chickasaws, due to the traditional enmity between these two nations. However, in 1702, at a great council held in Mobile, the Choctaw and Chickasaw agreed to bury the hatchet, and were promised an ample trade from a factory to be planted in their midst. This truce was later extended to include tribes as widely separated as the Alabama and the Illinois.[57] Years of hatred, however, could not be

55. Ibid. p. 128
56. Ibid. pp. 145
57. Crane "The Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War" in American Historical Review. Vol. XXIV p. 385.

so easily forgotten, and both Chickasaw and Choctaw were suspicious of each other. In 1704 a band of seventy Chickasaws of both sexes being in Mobile, appealed to Gov. Bienville for protection through the country of the Choctaws. Desirous of remaining in the good graces of this tribe, Bienville sent twenty Canadians to guard them safely to their homes. Arriving in one of the Choctaw towns the guards were lulled into security by the protestations of friendship by this tribe, and the entire band of Chickasaws were treacherously murdered.[58] Two years later war began again between the two tribes and continued intermittently for the remainder of the French occupancy of the Mississippi valley. This was a serious blow to their hopes; for the warlike Chickasaws made communication between the northern and southern parts of their empire extremely perilous. Supplied with arms and ammunition by the English, who bought their captives as slaves, they became the scourge of the defenceless western tribes from the Gulf northward to the Illinois country.[59] In 1711 the Assembly of South Carolina equipped an expedition of 1300 Creeks under Capt. Theophilus Hastings to aid the Chickasaws in their struggle. This band, cooperating with a smaller band of Chickasaws, marched through the Choctaw country burning, killing, and taking prisoners.[60]

It is difficult to determine at just what time the French first came into contact with the Cherokee. As early as 1699 Bienville reported an attack of strange Indians on the North Shore of Lake

58. Alvord. p. 174.
59. Crane. "Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War". p.382
60. Ibid. p. 392.

Pontdhartrain, and that among them were white men whom he supposed to be Carolinians.[61] It is quite likely the Indians were Cherokee.

De L'Isle, a French historian, in his map of 1701, shows the route which the Carolina traders followed in reaching the Chickasas. In 1703 he published a second map showing the Tennessee River and indicating the approximate location of the Cherokee villages upon it.[62] In 1712 he published another map which locates with a fair degree of accuracy the Cherokee villages on the Holston, Clinch, Little Tennessee, Savannah and upper Catawba.[63] From these maps it is safe to conclude that the French were well acquainted with the Cherokee and their location by the close of the first decade of the eighteenth century.

Encouraged by their success among the Chickasaws, English traders soon began to turn southward into the territory of the Creek and Alabama Indians. Realizing the importance of maintaining the friendship of these Indians, the French immediately took steps to forestall the Carolinians. In 1714 they erected Fort Toulouse, or Fort Alabama, on a neck of land between the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers.[64] This fort was admirably situated for carrying on a correspondence with all the powerful Indian nations surrounding the Carolinians. The Upper Creeks were soon won over to the French interests and through them the French entered into an active correspondence with the Cherokee, endeavoring to persuade them to enter into an alliance.[65] The fact that this policy soon bore fruit

61. Winson, "Mississippi Valley" p. 20
62. Ibid. p. 20
63. Royce p. 139
64. Dubose. "Sketches of Alabama History" p. 16
65. Hewitt. p. 315

is demonstrated by the general Indian uprising of the following year. At this time the Carolina Indian system had reached its farthest development, but in the uprising the whole structure of alliance crumbled, and in the general crash the colony itself barely escaped annihilation.[66]

At the close of this war the Carolinians made heroic efforts to retrieve their shattered fortunes. By the treaty of 1716 the wavering Cherokee were bound in alliance to them. The other Indians, however, held aloof and in 1720 the Board of Trade reported that of the 9,200 warriors between Carolina and the French, they could count on only 3,800 Cherokee as favoring them in preference to the French. This same report showed the absolute necessity of keeping these Indians in firm alliance with the English, without which the borders of both Carolina and Virginia would be exposed to their execursions.[67]

As a result of the recognition of their danger, Gov. Nicholson took steps the same year to bind the Cherokee in firmer alliance. He sent a message to this tribe asking them to meet him in council at the borders of their territories. As a result of this invitation the chiefs of 37 different town set out immediately to treat with the governor. A general council was held somewhere on the borders of the lower towns and presents were distributed among the Indians. Gov. Nicholson fixed the boundaries between this tribe and the English, regulated weights and measurers, appointed an agent to look after their affairs, and caused the election of a head warrior over

66. Crane "Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War" p. 394.
67. N. C. C. R. Vol. II p. 422.

the entire nation. The head warrior was to receive all complaints regarding the English and transmit them immediately to the governor. By the consent of all present, Wrofetafatow was chosen for this important position. As a result of this council the Cherokee returned to their country well pleased, and possessing an exalted opinion of their own importance.[68]

Doubtless encouraged by this treaty the Carolinians made an attempt to carry the war into the enemy's country in the following year. The French soldiers at Fort Toulouse had long been poorly paid, and often were on the verge of famine and starvation. Realizing this condition, Carolinian traders circulated among the soldiers and encouraged them to desert and flee to Charleston. Early one morning the garrison mutinied and slew their commanding officer, Capt. Marchard. The other two officers, a lieutenant and an ensign, succeeded in making their escape to a village of Creek Indians nearby. Hastily gathering together a force of Indians, they attacked the deserters on their way to Charleston. Overwhelmed by superior numbers, the deserters yet fought with the fury of tigers. Of the twenty-six who deserted, sixteen were slain, two escaped, and the remainder were captured, sent to Mobile and executed. Expecting this mutiny to be followed by an English attack on the fort, Lieut. Villemont kept a large force of Creek Indians in readiness until a new garrison could arrive.[69]

With the arrival of the new garrison at Fort Toulouse, French activities among the Indian tribes greatly increased. During the

68. Hewett. p. 297
69. Pickett. p. 229

next three years they were especially active among the Upper Creeks and Cherokee. Desiring the counteract their influence among these two tribes, the English government, in 1725, sent Capt. Tobias Fitch as an agent to the Creeks and Col. George Chicken to the Cherokee.[70]

Col. Chicken set out for the Cherokee towns on June 17, 1725. Following the usual pack horse trail of the traders, he arrived at Keowee, the principal town of the Lower Cherokee on July 5. Here he was well received by the head warriors of the nation, and remained for thirteen days in the town, settling disputes with the traders and endeavoring th produce a good understanding with the Cherokee. Leaving Keowee on July 18 he passed through Tomotley, Tuccareecho, Estatoe, Nococheee, Ellijay, and the two towns of Great and Little Tellico. In all these towns he was well received, and quite often was asked to make a speech. However, he postponed this for the time being, but promised to address the whole of the Upper Towns, if they would assemble at their capital, Tennessee. He arrived at this town on July 28 and was greeted by the King and all the warriors of the town. On August 2, representatives from all the Upper Towns, excepting Hiwassee and Little Tellico, met at Tennessee for a great council. After addressing the Indians at some length, Col. Chicken succeeded in pledging them never to allow any Frenchman whatever to come among them. On August 21 the head men of all the Upper Towns and twenty-four of the Lower Towns met at Ellijay and were again addressed by Col. Chicken. Nothing of very great interest transpired

70. Mereness, "Travels in American Colonies". pp.95, 96, 175.

at this meeting; the attitude of the Indians remaining friendly to the British cause. On September 9, true to their promise, the Cherokee captured a wandering Frenchman and began making preparations to put him to death. Col. Chicken, however, succeeded in persuading them to send him as a prisoner to Charleston instead. Throughout the remainder of September and October, Col. Chicken remained among the Cherokee endeavoring to regulate the Indian trade and to develop a spirit friendly to the English. He reached his home on Oct. 31, after an absence of approximately four and one-half months.[71] It is impossible to determine exactly what influence his visit had among the Cherokee, but it is certain that it did much to counteract French influence.

One of the principal causes of friction in the Indian system of the English colonies was the hostility existing between the northern and southern Indians. Bands of Iroquois had long been accustomed to wander southward into the central parts of what is now Kentucky and Tennessee. Whenever they came into contact with the Cherokee or Chickasaw a bloody battle was sure to follow. Realizing the importance of maintaining peace and harmony between the great northern and southern allies of the English colonies, Lt.-Gov. Wm. Gooch of Virginia in 1727, attempted to make peace between the Cherokee and Catawbas on one hand, and the Iroquois on the other. A cessation of hostilities was agreed upon and a place appointed for a great council, but before it could be held the Iroquois broke off the negotiations by a treacherous attack on the

71. Col. Chicken's Journal. Hereness, "Travels in American Colonies." pp. 97-172.

Appalachian Room
Appalachian State University Library
Boone, North Carolina

Catawbas.[72] It was not until fifteen years later that a treaty was made establishing peace between the northern and southern allies of the English colonies. This was accomplished largely through the activities of Lt.-Gov. Clarke of New York.[73]

Following the departure of Col. Chicken from the Cherokee nation, the French emissaries again became active. So great had their influence become by 1730 that the English government became alarmed and despatched Sir Alexander Cumming to South Carolina for the sole purpose of holding this tribe in alliance. Immediately upon his arrival in the province Sir Alexander called a council of the entire Cherokee nation to meet at Keowee. In this council the Cherokee swore eternal allegiance to the English government; brought their crown and many of their trophies from Tennessee and laid them at Sir Alexander's feet, requesting him to deliver them to the King of England as a symbol of their loyalty. Sir Alexander then requested Moytoy, who had been elected headman of the entire nation, to select six chiefs to accompany him to England that they themselves might present the crown and trophies to the king. Accordingly the six chiefs were selected and accompanied Sir Alexander to Charleston. Here they were joined by a seventh, who also insisted upon seeing the great king. Shortly afterwards they set sail, and arrived in Dover in June 1730.[74]

For more than three months the chiefs remained in England visiting all the important places, and proving a source of never-

72. "Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York" Vol. VI p. 137
73. Ibid. p. 218
74. Hewett, Vol. II pp. 4,5,6.

ending curiousity to the inhabitants. They were presented to King George himself and were very much impressed by the splendor and magnificence of the king and his court. On Sept. 7 a treaty was made and signed by the seven chiefs on the one hand, and Alured Popple, Secretary of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, on the other.[75]

This treaty consisted of a preamble, which was merely a pledge of friendship and devotion by the two parties, and six provisions as follows:

(1). The two nations shall trade together and live in peace, but the Indians may live wherever they please. The English, however, are forbidden to build houses near the Cherokee towns.

(2) The Cherokee must be prepared to fight against any nation, white or red, who shall make war on the English.

(3). The Cherokee also must keep the trading path clear.

(4). They shall not trade with any other nation or allow them to build forts or cabins, or plant corn near them.

(5). Any negro slaves who run away to the Cherokee must be returned to the English.

(6). If any Englishman kills an Indian he whall be punished by English law; if any Indian kills an Englishman he too shall be delivered up to be punished by English law.[76]

This treaty in itself probably had but very little influence over the Cherokee. It was signed by only seven of their chiefs,

75. Ramsey, "History of South Carolina". p. 101.
76. N. C. C. R. Vol. III pp. 129-134.

and a treaty to be binding had to be signed by all the chiefs interested in its provisions. The visit of the seven chiefs to England however, was of very great significance. They were so impressed by the greatness and splendor of England, as contrasted with their own weakness and poverty, that this impression remained with them throughout the rest of their lives. As a result of these things, the English seem to have possessed the undivided allegiance of the Cherokee for the next five years.

In the meantime the French were involved in constant difficulties with their unruly allies, and their English rivals gave them no opportunity to strengthen their position. In 1729 the Natchez attempted to start a general Indian war against the French. On Nov. 29 they massacred 238 of the French in and near Fort Rosalie. In the face of this uprising it seemed for a time that the French must be driven out of the Lower Mississippi Valley, but the Choctaw remained firm in their allegiance and united with the French to crush the Natchez in a relentless war of extermination. By the close of 1730 the Natchez no longer existed as a nation, but remnants of the tribe had found a safe asylum among the Chickasaw.[77]

Throughout all these years the Chickasaw had remained a constant source of trouble to the French. Realizing this fact the Carolinians had taken advantage of it by keeping them well supplied with arms and ammunition. In 1727 Gov. Perrier of Louisiana reported that he had heard of a pack train of sixty or seventy horses laden with merchandise, passing into the Chickasaw country. He

77. Alvord. p. 167.

made an effort to induce the Chickasaw to plunder this pack-train and turn against the English, but without success.[78]

Up to this time the French seem to have held hopes of eventually winning over the Chickasaw by peaceful measures. But with the settling of the Natchez among them this hope disappeared and they determined upon a second war of extermination. Gov. Perier was recalled to France, and Bienville was again sent over as governor. He found the French affairs in a deplorable state, with the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and the remnant of the Natchez firmly bound in alliance with the English.[79]

As yet unprepared to strike a decisive blow at the Chickasaw, Bienville contented himself for the time being with fostering Indian expeditions against them. This was extremely difficult, due to the fighting reputation which the Chickasaw held. The Iroquois alone seemed to be their equals, and held them in no fear; and to these Bienville turned for assistance. Post Vincennes became the base for the fitting out of Iroquois expeditions. By 1733 these warriors of the North, by a series of brilliant attacks had succeeded in reopening the Mississippi to communication.[80]

Hearing of this state of affairs the Carolinians took immediate steps to aid the Chickasaw. In 1734 an expedition was fitted out in Charleston, composed of a great number of traders and adventurers, with a large pack horse train laden chiefly with mumitions of war. Following the well beaten trail of the traders,

78. Pickett, p. 234.
79. Alvord, p. 176.
80. Ibid. p. 177.

they arrived in the Chickasaw nation and scattered among the different towns, distributing their arms and ammunition.[81]

By 1736 Bienville felt that the was prepared to crush the Chickasaw. A force of some 400 or 500 French and Indians under Parataguiette, the commandant of the Illinois country, was to cooperate with Bienville's larger force from Louisiana. The two armies were to rendezvous near Memphis early in March, but Bienville was unable to arrive on time. Dartaguiette, becoming impatient, unwisely attacked an outlying Chickasaw Village. The Chickasaw however, were expecting him, and aided and directed by thirty British traders, they inflicted a crushing defeat on his army. Dartaguiette himself was wounded, captured, and later burned at the stake, and only the bravery of the Iroquois saved his army from complete destruction.

Bienville did not arrive till the last days of May. By this time the Chickasaw had fortified their principal towns, and has secured reinforcements from the Cherokee. Still directed by the British traders the Chickasaw defended themselves bravely and forced Bienville to retreat.[82]

Encouraged by their success a band of 400 Cherokee and Chickasaw made an excursion into the Illinois country and threatened Fort de Chartres, but the French gathered a large force of their allies for the protection of the fort and the expedition came to nothing.[83]

81. Pickett. p. 280
82. Alvord. pp. 177-179
83. Ibid. p. 180

For three years Bienville made preparations to revenge his defeat. In September 1739 he gathered together an imposing force and moved against the Chickasaw. Feeling themselves unable to cope with so large an army, the Chickasaw sued for peace. By the terms of the treaty they agreed not to molest the French, and to surrender the Natchez and their French prisoners. This peace, however, brought no security. In May 1740 a French convoy was attacked by the Cherokee and six were killed. A short time later a band of voyagers were attacked by the same tribe and nineteen were killed.[84] It is quite likely that in both instances the Cherokee were aided and encouraged by the Chickasaw.

From 1730 to 1736 nothing of any very great importance seems to have transpired among the Cherokee. In 1736, however, there arrived among them from Charleston a German by the name of Priber who was destined to play an important part in the affairs of the nation for the next five years. Establishing himself in the town of Great Tellico, he set about learning the language and customs of the Cherokee, and winning the good graces of the tribe. He divested himself of civilized attire, and ate, drank, slept and danced with the Indians. In this way he soon won the friendship and confidence of the entire tribe. He then set about organizing a new system of government. The headman of the tribe was crowned emperor, and an imperial court, with high sounding titles was organized. He himself became his imperial majesty's chief secretary of state. With this government in operation he began making overtures to the Creeks, Choctaws, and other tribes regarding an

84. Ibid. p. 182.

alliance of all the Indians of the southwest. He also educated the Cherokee in the value of merchandise and caused them to drive better bargains with the traders. A system of communism was also introduced, where even the women were the property of the state.

Realizing that Priber was detrimental to the English cause among the Indians, and believing him to be a French emissary, the South Carolina government sent a commissioner to arrest him and bring him to Charleston. The Cherokee, however, refused to give him up, and South Carolina's insistance upon her demands caused the tribe to regard the English with suspicion, and considerably weakened their influence. In 1741 Priber was captured by the English while on his way to Mobile, and was taken to Frederica, Georgia, where he died in confinement.[85]

Priber's exact status is hard to define with any degree of certainty. Adair, the best informed and most influential of the English traders at this time, regarded him as a French emissary sent to alienate this tribe from the English.[86] Antoine Bonnefoy, a French captive among the Cherokee at this time, however, did not recognize him as such, though he recognized the fact that Priber's policies served well the French interests.[87]

Priber, himself, stated his purpose to be the formation of an experiment in the regeneration of society. A republic, called the Kingdom of Paradise, was to be established somewhere between the Cherokee and Alabama Indians. This republic was to be strictly communistic in character. All property should be held in common.

85. Adair. pp. 240-242. Mereness give the date as 1743.
86. Ibid. p. 240
87. Bonnefoy's Journal in Mereness Travels in American Colonies. pp. 241-255.

There should be no marriage contract, and all children should be reared by the state. He further stated that he had been driven out of his native country, as well as out of England and South Carolina, for attempting to put his plans into execution.[88] Investigations by later historians have tended to bear out the truth of his assertions,[89] and it is quite likely that Priber really intended putting into execution a plan for the establishment of a communistic state.

There was one important result of Priber's stay among the Cherokee, however. A strong party, pro-French in sentiment was ever able to overcome it. Great Tellico was the seat of this party, and from this town constant communication was carried on with the French. At one time seven towns seriously considered removing to Louisiana and settling closer to the French. When this plan was finally rejected, the French promised to build the Cherokee a fort as high up the Tennessee River as their largest boats could go. This plan was constantly agitated during the ensuing years and caused the Carolinians a great deal of apprehension.[90]

The epidemic of small-pox, which visited the Cherokee with such devastating results in 1738 also weakened the influence of the English. The germs of this disease were carried among the Indians by the Carolina traders. Not knowing any cure for it the Indians were forced to rely upon magic and hastily thought of remedies, which usually produced the opposite results from the ones

88. Ibid. p. 248
89. Crane "A Lost Utopia of the American Frontier in Sewanee" Review Vol. XXVII. p. 51.
90. Adair. pp. 243,244.

desired. As a result almost one-half of the entire population was swept away.[91] Since the Carolinians had brought the disease into the country, the Cherokee naturally connected them with it, and regarded them with more or less suspicion.

The French also took advantage of this opportunity to attempt to convince the Cherokee that they had been poisoned.[92]

Following the arrest and death of Priber ten years of comparative quiet prevailed throughout the Cherokee nation. King George's War produced no very great complications along the southern frontier. It showed to the two contending parties, however, the necessity of controlling their Indian Allies. In the northern field of action France, through her poverty at this time, lost many of the Indian tribes; when the war came to a close her great fabric of alliance, which had so long been her special pride, seemed ready to fall to pieces. But with the close of the war she began, with characteristic energy, an attempt to retrieve her shattered fortunes. The lines between the two contending parties became a little more closely drawn. Each realized that a struggle for the possession of the continent was imminent, and both began making preparations accordingly.[93]

91. Ibid. p. 232
92. Mereness pp. 97, 98.
93. Alvord p. 189.

Chapter V.

Dissatisfaction among the Cherokee and Virginia South Carolina Rivalry.

Up to the close of the first half of the eighteenth century, France and England had competed for the favor of the Southern Indians with about equal success. Through a more skilled diplomacy France had succeeded in allying to herself the greater number of tribes, but her poverty and the high price of her trading goods made her hold on these Indians at all times precarious. In nearly all the articles offered by the traders, the English were able to offer both a better quality and a cheaper price. This always made a great appeal to the Indians. As Thomas Nairne, the first Indian agent of South Carolina, well said: "The English trade for cloath always attracts and maintains the obedience and friendship of the Indians. They effect them most who sell best cheap".[94] Then too, the favorable location held by England's two allies the Chickasaw and Cherokee, made them more nearly offset the greater number of French Indians. Toward the Chickasaw the French maintained a placating policy, though they had long since given up hope of winning over this warlike tribe. Regarding the Cherokee, however, they still held hopes of ultimate success even after almost half a century of comparative failure. Franch emissaries, however, were even yet not always well received. Among the Cherokee, and as a result the faithful Creeks were usually called upon to act as

94. Crane, "Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War." Am. History Review, Vol. XXIV. p. 380.

intermediaries between the French and the Cherokee. It was to them that France turned for aid in the darkest days following King George's War.

The Great Mortar, head chief of the Creek nation, who had served the French cause long and well, was given a commission in the French army. He moved his tribe far up the Mobile River until he was about half way between the French and the Cherokee. Here he established a great camp, which became the rendezvous of the most warlike elements of all the tribes. Young and ambitious Cherokee warriors flocked to him in great numbers. The French kept in touch with him and supplied him with merchandize and ammunitions. If this camp had been allowed to continue it is quite likely the Cherokee would have soon been won over to the French, and the Chickasaw trading path effectually blocked. Carolinian traders, however, rallied the Chickasaw to their support and a descent was made on the camp. The Mortar himself was barely able to escape with his life, and the camp was completely destroyed by these fierce warriors from the Mississippi.[95]

Though this scheme of the French was blocked by the prompt action of the Carolinian traders, the Great Mortar had not altogether failed. French influence was on the ascendancy in the Cherokee nation. Bands of northern Indians frequently arrived among them and gathered guides and recruits for expeditions directed against the Carolinian Indians. In these raids quite often outlying settlers were murdered, their homes plundered, and their

95. Adair. p. 255.

children carried away into captivity.[96]

The one man who deserves credit for maintaining the English alliance with the Cherokee at this time is Gov. James Glen of South Carolina. Though he has often been accused, and sometimes justly, of mismanagement of Indian affairs and selfish motives, a comparison of his policies with those of his successors will show his vast superiority in the field of Indian diplomacy. When he became governor of the province the Board was almost ready to throw up the task of attempting to maintain the alliance with the Cherokee. In fact in 1751 it was seriously proposed in council to abandon the Cherokee to the French and break off all commercial intercourse with them. This policy Gov. Glen opposed, and succeeded in convincing the Board of the absolute necessity of maintaining an alliance with these Indians.[97] However, to punish the Cherokee for some of the crimes recently committed and to secure satisfaction from them, the Board passed an order temporarily withholding all goods from the nation. Instead of remedying matters, however, this order made them worse. Indians became greatly aroused; store houses were broken into; traders barely escaped with their lives; settlers along the frontier were murdered; and a reign of terror was begun throughout the entire nation.[98]

In an attempt to remedy abuses existing among the Indians and to placate them as far as possible, a new system of trade was inaugurated in this year (175). The entire Cherokee country was

96. Logan pp. 428-433.
97. Ibid p. 455
98. Ibid p. 425

divided into thirteen districts and a trader was appointed to superintend each district. The character of the average Indian trader was shown at this time by the fact that the Board found it difficult to select thirteen competent men from the entire number of Indian traders. They were described in the records of the time as being without "Substance, sense or character."[99]

Recognizing the fact that rum was proving the ruination of the Indians, the Board also attempted to regulate its distribution among them. Traders were allowed to take only a few bottles for their own use into the nation, and the government was to distribute but two kegs to each district during the year. One of these was to be at the time of the Green Corn dance, and the other at the close of the winter hunt.[100]

Had this policy been put into effect sooner it probably would have been productive of good results. As it was, however, it came too late to be of any great service. The Cherokee became more and more insolent. Bands of northern Indians sent by the French, continued to arrive among them, gather recruits, and plunder the border settlements. Gov. Glen stationed rangers at various places along the frontier in an attempt to protect the settlers, but the depredation continued.[101]

To add to the other difficulties of the time, a bloody war broke out between the Creeks and Cherokee early in 1752. Gov. Glen and the authorities at Charleston looked upon this war as being instigated by the French in order to weaken the power of the

99.Ibid. p. 434
100.Ibid p. 435
101.Ibid pp. 435-439.

English.[102] The true occasion of the war, however, was an attack made by a wandering band of Savannahs on the Creeks. After committing some depredations they were pursued by the enraged Creeks, but found a safe asylum among the Cherokee. Not being able to induce the Cherokee to give up the marauders, the Creeks promptly declared war.[103]

It was during this war that Gov. Glen made the greatest mistake of his entire Indian policy. The Cherokee were to blame for the present state of affairs, and the time had come when they deserved to be punished. The logical policy would have been for South Carolina to have joined with the Creeks in chastising the Cherokee. But instead Gov. Glen adopted a conciliating policy and attempted to make peace between the two tribes. On July 4, 1753, he held a great council with a number of Cherokee Chiefs in Charleston. The principal speaker for the Indians at this meeting was Attakulla-kulla, or the Little Carpenter, one of the seven chiefs who had accompanied Sir Alexander Cumming to England in 1730, and a man who was destined to play an important part in the affairs of the colony during the next few years. In this meeting the Cherokee appeared insolent and at first would not discuss making a peace with the Creeks. On the second day of the conference, however, their attitude seemed to change and they agreed to make peace with the Creeks and to live in peace and friendship with the

102. Glen to Six Nations. N. Y. Colonial Records. Vol. VI. p. 721
103. Logan. pp. 458-459.

English. Each of the chiefs was given presents by the Governor and an ample trade was promised them in the future. A short time afterwards a similar conference was held with the Creeks, and peace was agreed upon between the two tribes.[104]

The insincerity of the Cherokee at this time is attested by the fact that the same band of chiefs, who met Gov. Glen in Council and assured him of their undying affection and great love for the English plundered the home of a settler and attempted to murder his wife before they were out of the province. This fact alone should have proven to Gov. Glen that his policy was wrong. By making peace between these two tribes he enabled them to unite a few years later and carry fire and scalping-knife into the very heart of the English provinces.[105]

To further complicate matters at this time Virginia, after more than half a century of comparative inactivity among the Cherokee suddenly began to compete with South Carolina for the favor of this nation. The cause of this sudden interest on her part was doubtless the profits which South Carolina was making at this time from her Indian trade. Despite the unwise policy of the Government in the regulation of the Indian trade and the increasing degeneracy of the Indians themselves, Carolina continued to reap enormous profits from her trade with the Indians. In 1755, it was estimated that in only one of the thirteen districts of the Cherokee nation more than fourteen thousand pounds of buckskin leather was secured. If this held true for the other twelve districts, in

104. Logan. pp. 460-485.
105. Ibid. pp. 483-485.

this year more than 150,000 pounds of buckskin leather was secured by the Carolinian traders, in addition to the beaver, otter, raccoon and other skins purchased. In these years the value of the Indian trade to the colony ranked second only to the growing of rice. In the year 1747 the exports of skins from this trade was valued at approximately 400,000 pounds.[106]

It is quite likely that Virginia knew of Carolina's profits in this trade, and for this reason, decided to share in it herself. But whatever her reasons may have been her interference came at an unfortunate time. With France fiercely competing for the favor of the Cherokee, the English Colonies should have put up an undivided front in opposition. Instead the two great southern colonies of Virginia and South Carolina became more interested in thwarting each other, than in contending with their common enemy, the French.

Realizing the importance of keeping the Cherokee firmly linked to South Carolina, the Board protested to Virginia against the activities of her traders, but all to no effect. In 1751 a band of Over-hill Cherokee made a visit to Gov. Lee of Virginia and asked to make a treaty of commerce with that colony. The Governor smoked with them the pipe of peace and assured them that they would be furnished a bountiful supply of goods by the Virginia traders. Encouraged by these promises the Cherokee adopted an insolent attitude toward South Carolina and began to commit acts of hostility against

106. Ibid. pp. 383-385

her traders and outlying settlements. Gov. Glen became thoroughly aroused. He wrote to Gov. Lee strongly protesting against Virginia's encroachment on the rights of South Carolina. Gov. Lee replied that he was deceived by the Indians, and had been led to promise them a trade through pity for their wretched condition. However, he did nothing to check the encroachments of the Virginia traders who continued to compete with South Carolina to the great annoyance of the latter colony.[107]

Shortly after this Gov. Lee was replaced by Robert Dinwiddie, an energetic and able leader, who did much to defeat the designs of the French in America. However, he early formed a dislike to Gov. Glen, and thereafter cooperation between these two great leaders was never possible. It was Dinwiddie's policy to extend the frontiers of Virginia and to encourage her Indian trade as much as possible. Naturally his brought him into contact with Gov. Glen, who was watching the encroachments of Virginia traders among the Cherokee, with an anxious eye. Alarmed at the progress they were making Glen protested to Dinwiddie in no uncertain terms and pointed out plainly to him the absolute dependence of South Carolina on her Indian allies. "South Carolina", he said, "is a weak frontier colony and in case of an invasion by the French would be their first object of attack. We have not much to fear, however, while we retain the affection of the Indians around us; but should we forfeit that by any mismanagement on our part, or by the superior address of the French, we are in a miserable condition--we have been greatly alarmed by the behavior of the Virginians in regard to the Cherokee--- We

107. Ibid. pp. 417-420.

can see no good or wise policy in endeavoring to draw away these Indians from one of his Majesty's provinces to another." 108

Dinwiddie, however, chose to disregard this protest, and continued to carry on negotiations with the Cherokee. In the summer of 1754 he was visited by a number of their head chiefs, and succeeded in securing their promise to send a band of 800 warriors for a raid against the French on the Ohio. Upon their return to their towns, however, the chiefs asked Glen's advice in regard to the proposed expedition. He advised against it in such strong terms that the Cherokee refused to send aid when called upon to do so by Dinwiddie. This so aroused the ire of the Virginia Governor that he accused Glen of being faithless to his Majesty's cause.[109]

Undaunted by his first failure, Dinwiddie reopened negotiations with the Cherokee. In August 1754 he sent them a present of twelve half-barrels of powder and a thousand pounds of lead;[110] and a little later made another earnest request for assistance against the French.[111] He soon realized, however, that Glen still exercised a strong influence over the Cherokee, and repeatedly appealed to him to use his influence to secure the assistance of the Cherokee in the proposed expedition of Gen. Braddock against the French.[112] Glen promised to do everything in his power to secure assistance from the Cherokee,[113] but apparently he used his influence in the opposite direction, for the expedition departed without receiving the assistance from the Cherokee. In fact, at the time that the

108. Hewitt. p. 308.
109. Dinwiddie to Glen, Dinwiddie Papers. Vol. I p. 273.
110. Dinwiddie to Col. Innes. Ibid. p. 272.
111. Dinwiddie to the Cherokee. Ibid. p. 391.
112. Dinwiddie to Glen, Ibid. pp. 378, 399.
113. Ibid. Vol. II. Dinwiddie to Robinson. p. 70.

expedition was on the march to Fort DuQuesne Gov. Glen was holding a Council with the Cherokee chiefs in an attempt to bind them to South Carolina.[114]

With the defeat of Braddock, Dinwiddie openly accused Glen of being the sole cause of the disaster. He seemed to think that a handful of Cherokee could have turned the tide of battle on this occasion by meeting the French Indians in their own style of fighting.[115] The French also seem to have held much the same belief, for they took the precaution of sending a band of northern Indians to the Cherokee country to treat with them at the same time that Braddock was making his disastrous campaign. These Indians remained at Chote in friendly conference with the Cherokee until they learned that the campaign had terminated favorably for the French; then they departed, plundering and murdering the Cherokee along their route.[116]

In the fall of 1755 Dinwiddie reopened negotiations with the Cherokee in an attempt to secure a number of their warriors for an expedition against the Shawnee. At his request a band of warriors, headed by the son of the head chief, Oconastato, or Old Hop, visited him. In the conference the Indians shrewdly excused their neglect in the former campaign by blaming it all on Gov. Glen. They, however, promised to send warriors for the impending campaign against the Shawnee.[117] True to their promise, the Cherokee

114. Ibid. Dinwiddie to Dobbs. p. 123
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid. Dinwiddie to Dobbs. p. 202.
117. Ibid. p. 187. Council with Cherokee.

sent 130 of their warriors in December. These were armed by Dinwiddie and joined 200 Virginia rangers in a campaign against the Shawnee towns along the Ohio.[118] The expedition met with failure from the very first. Bad weather was encountered; heavy rains swelled the rivers so that most of the provisions were lost and the company was forced to eat their horses. They returned about one month after their departure in a miserable condition having accomplished nothing.[119]

However, the fact that the Cherokee had sent some assistance encouraged Gov. Dinwiddie to hope that they would continue to do so. In order to foster the friendship with this tribe, he sent Peter Randolph and William Byrd as commissioners to make a treaty with them.[120] Byrd and Randolph departed for the Cherokee country in December, 1755, and upon their arrival there, entered into negotiations with the Indians. They had been given the substance of a speech to make by Dinwiddie, calling upon the Indians to beware of the French and expel them from their country. However, Atta-Kulla-kulla, who was the spokesman for the Cherokee, refused to make any concessions or promise any aid unless the commissioners would promise to build a fort for their protection. This they were finally forced to do, the Cherokee promising to allow any French fort to be built in their country and agreeing to send 400 warriors for a campaign against the French. This treaty was signed March 17, 1756.[121] The cost of the expedition was 1649 lbs. 14s. 7d.[122]

118. Ibid. p. 290. Dinwiddie to Dobbs.
119. Ibid. Dinwiddie to Dobbs. p. 382
120. Ibid. p. 301.
121. Virginia Magazine of Hist. & Biog. Vol. XIII. pp. 225-264
122/ Journal of Va. House of Burgesses Vol. V. p. 523.

Chapter VI

The Building of Forts in Tennessee.

Upon the failure of Priber's plan for the establishment of the "Kingdom of Paradise", the French took advantage of the existing sentiment in their favor to offer to build the Cherokee a fort, somewhere near the head of navigation on the Tennessee River.[124] Though this plan was never carried out, doubtless due to lack of funds for such purposes on the part of the French, it nevertheless caused much uneasiness among the English in both Virginia and South Carolina. Then, too, the eagerness with which the Cherokee embraced the proposal, showed to the English how precarious was their hold upon the affections of this tribe. As late as 1754 Gov. Dinwiddie wrote to Gov. Glen that the French were building two forts in the Cherokee country, one not far from the town of Chote.[125] Apparently there was no foundation for this rumor, but it served to focus more closely the attentich of the two governors upon the Cherokee, and caused them to discuss plans for checkmating the French in the building of the proposed fort. The Cherokee, also, at this time seemed to realize that there was not much chance of securing a French fort, and consequently began making proposals to both Virginia and South Carolina for the building of one by the English. When Gov. Glen met the delegation of Cherokee Chiefs in Charleston in 1753 it was proposed in the council that he build a fort for their protection. Some time after, a similar proposal was made to Gov. Dinwiddie,[126] and in the treaty

124. Adair. pp. 144
125. Dinwiddie Papers. Vol. I. p. 273
126. Ibid. Bol. II. p. 382. Dinwiddie to Dobbs.

made by Byrd and Randolph it was acceded to, and a fort promised the Cherokee. With the outbreak of the French and Indian War the question of maintaining the allegiance of the Cherokee became of much/greater importance, and the question of building them a fort was referred to the English Government. As a result, Gov. Dinwiddie received orders in October 1754 to assist Gov. Glen in the building of a fort in the Cherokee country.[127] He immediately communicated this fact to Glen, who replied by sending him a calculation of the cost of such an undertaking and requesting him to forward 7000 lbs. for carrying it out. Dinwiddie was indignant that he should be expected to bear all the expense, and felt that Glen should build the fort with little or no aid from him. Nevertheless, to show his readiness to obey orders from home, he forwarded 1000 lbs. to Glen, saying that he felt that South Carolina should furnish the rest.[128] Seeing that he would not be able to get the whole of the 7000 lbs. from Dinwiddie, Glen then attempted to secure as much as 3000 lbs. more, but in this he likewise failed.[129]

During the following year, practically nothing was done by either Glen or Dinwiddie toward the building of the proposed fort. Dinwiddie seemed to expect Glen to construct it with the 1000 lbs. which had been forwarded to him. At last, however, he gave up hope of securing any action from South Carolina and determined to act independently. In April 1756 in compliance with the terms of the treaty negotiated by Byrd and Randolph, Dinwiddie ordered Major

127. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 379, Dinwiddie to Glen.
128. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 494, Dinwiddie to Sir Thomas Robinson
129. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 24, Dinwiddie to Dobbs.

Andrew
/Lewis to "overseer" the building of a fort in the Cherokee country. Major Lewis was further ordered to enlist sixty men for the expedition, and was given 700 lbs. to purchase 100 beeves for their support. He was to proceed immediately to Chote and consult with the headmen of the Cherokee regarding the best location for the fort. In case South Carolina sent a similar expedition into the Cherokee country, Major Lewis was to cooperate with it and push the work to a speedy close.[130]

Following the departure of Lewis with his expedition, vague rumors came to Dinwiddie that the Cherokee were about to desert to the French. Not a little alarmed for the safety of the expedition he dispatched messengers to ascertain whether or not the reports had any foundation.[131] A letter from Major Lewis, however, assured him that all was well, and that the Cherokee were enthusiastic over the prospect of securing a fort, and had promised to send at least 100 warriors for a campaign against the French.[132]

Lewis had arrived at Chote early in the summer, and had immediately begun work on the fort. It was located very near the town of Chote, but on the opposite side of the Little Tennessee River.[133] So fast was the work pushed that the fort was completed by the latter part of August, and most of the expedition had returned to Virginia by Sept. 18. The approximate cost of the entire undertaking was 2000 lbs.[134]

130. Dinwiddie to Lewis; Ibid. Vol. II. p. 389
131. Dinwiddie to Lyttleton; Ibid. Vol. II. p. 472
132. Dinwiddie to Lewis; Ibid. Vol. II. p. 486
133. Timberlake. Map.
134. Dinwiddie to Dobbs. Dinwiddie Papers. Vol. II. p. 511.

Upon his first arrival Major Lewis had been well received by the Cherokee. The two head chiefs, Oconastota and Atta-kulla-kulla, had united in giving him an enthusiastic welcome. As the work neared completion, however, he noticed a change in the attitude of the Indians; and when he began pressing them to send warriors to the aid of Virginia they began to equivocate. He noticed also that messengers frequently passed between the Cherokee and the French. Rummors were also afloat that the French were preparing to build a fort ne r the town of Great Tellico, and the Indians seemed well pleased at such a turn of events.

With matters in such a precarious state the vaguard of an expedition from South Carolina arrived upon the scene. The main body under Captain Demere, however, was not expected to arrive for sometime. Alarmed at the prospect of such a large number of white men coming into their country, the Cherokee called a great council to meet at Chote on Sept. 2. Either by accident or design Major Lewis happened upon this meeting and listened to the speeches. Atta-kulla-kulla advocated that a letter be written to Capt. Demere ordering him to return to South Carolina, and that the few men who had already arrived be overpowered and forced to serve as slaves among the Indians. Alarmed at these utterances, and fearful for the safety of himself and his command, Major Lewis presented himself before the council and made a great speech, endeavoring to persuade the Indians to remain loyal to the English. Seemingly convinced by his rguments, the Cherokee agreed to all another council to meet the following day and rediscuss the matter. At

this meeting the Indians seemed to have forgotten their hostile intentions of the preceeding day, and wrote a letter to Capt. Lemdre urging him to come as quickly as possible, as they were very anxious to shake hands with him. Major Lewis, however, was not deceived by this sudden change of attitude, and felt that there was a powerful undercurrent of hostility toward the English among the Cherokee.[135]

Dinwiddie, however, remained ignorant of all these things, and was quite enthusiastic over the whole affair, looking forward to a large number of Cherokee joining in the fall campaign against the French. In the last days of August he forwarded to Lewis arms and ammunition for 150 men with instructions to march them into Virginia and join Col. Washington's command as soon as possible.[136]

The majority of the men sent on the expedition returned about the middle of September. Major Lewis, however, remained behind to conduct the promised band of Cherokee into Virginia. Dinwiddie, in the meantime, was endeavoring to provide a garrison for the fort. He first proposed to Gov. Dobbs of North Carolina to join with him in providing a garrison from the two colonies.[137] Failing in this, he secured an appropriation of 2000 lbs. from the Assembly for this purpose.[138] Late in October, however, Lewis arrived and put an end to the discussion for the time being. The promised band of Cherokee warriors had dwindled to ten persons, seven men and three women, and Lewis' account of the condition of affairs showed the governor that it would be wise to postpone sending a garrison.

135. N. C. C. R. Vol. V. pp. 612-614; Lewis to Lyttleton.
136. Dinwiddie Papers. Vol. II. p. 492; Dinwiddie to Lewis.
137. Ibid. Vol. II p. 511; Dinwiddie to Dobbs.
138. Ibid. Vol. II p. 537; Dinwiddie to Dobbs.

However, Dinwiddie sent one of the Indians back, reminding the Cherokee of their promises and imploring them to send a greater number of warriors.[139]

During the time that the Virginia fort was being built Gov. Glen of South Carolina had not been idle. He had originally hoped to secure the necessary funds for building a fort from Gov. Dinwiddie, but failing in this, he began making preparations to build it on his own account. In 1753 he called a meeting of the entire Cherokee nation to be held at Saluda. At this meeting he purchased a large tract of land from the Cherokee and agreed to build them a fort somewhere in the lower country. Soon after this conference he constructed Fort Prince George within gunshot of the town of Keowee. In 1755 he held a second conference with the Cherokee. At this meeting the Governor promised the Indians another fort, this time for the upper country, and the following year he began preparations for its construction.[140]

Before sending out the expedition to the upper Cherokee country Glen dispatched one Richard Pearis to select a good location for the fort. After viewing the lay of the land and consulting with the Indians, Pearis selected what he considered to be a good location, then returned to South Carolina and made his report. The expedition was finally fitted out and started on its way. Capt. Raymond Demere was given the chief command and William DeBrahm was the engineer in charge.

De Brahm consented to assume charge of the construction of the fort with reluctance. Before setting out, he pointed out to Gov. Glen the utter foolishness of sending such a small force so far

139. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 544; Dinwiddie to Earl of Halifax.
140. Wallace, "Life of Henry Laurens", p. 8.

away, where they would be little more than hostages among so many warriors. Glen admitted in part the truth of his arguments, but since the Indians had demanded a fort with so much insistence he felt compelled to build them one.[141]

After marching as far as Fort Prince George, Demere halted and waited for supplies to be collected for the expedition. Various things caused him to be delayed here for some time. Just previous to this Gov. Glen had been superseded by Lyttleton and the latter showed no desire to hasten the setting out of the expedition. Then, too, provincial troops had been promised and it was necessary to wait here until they arrived. This delay greatly incensed the Indians, and they began to believe that South Carolina had no intention of building a fort. As a pledge of his good intentions, however, Demere despatched twenty men to the upper country, under the guidance of Atta-kulla-kulla. It was this party which arrived while the Virginia fort was being constructed.

Late in August the expected company of troops arrived, and soon afterward Demere began sending his stores of provisions and ammunition across the mountains on pack horses. Late in September the entire expedition finally got under way and arrived at the town of Tonotley on Oct. 1. The Indians gave Demere a royal welcome, and there seemed to be among them no thought of treachery or of desertion to the French. The expedition found upon their arrival that the Virginians had already completed their fort and returned home without having received any aid whatever from South Carolina.[142]

142. DeBrahm, "Philosophico Historico-Hydrecographical Description of Georgia, South Carolina and E. Florida"
142. Hamer, "Fort Loudoun".

Appalachian Room
Appalachian State University Library
Boone, North Carolina

After establishing themselves in camp, DeBrahm with the three captains, Demere, Stuart and Postel, and the two Indian Chieftains, Oconastola and Atta-kulla-kulla, immediately went over the site selected by Pearis. As soon as he had seen the location, DeBrahm objected to it. Ridges of mountains commanded the site for the fort from three sides; and as DeBrahm said,"The men's very shoe buckels was seen from any of these three mountains." After considerable argument, he succeeded in convincing the Indians of the inadvisability of constructing a fort at this point. At length a spot was agreed upon on the South bank of the Little Tennessee River about half a mile below the great Cherokee town of Chote.[143]

Without delay work was begun on the fort, but it of necessity moved forward very slowly. So little progress was made during the month of October that Oconastota urged greater efforts, saying that he feared a French attack. Accordingly work was pushed more rapidly during the month of November, but in December a spirit of mutiny was observed by Demere among the provincial troops. This was finally traced for the most part to De Brahm and Postell, and both were accordingly reprimanded by Demere for their unwise sayings. De Brahm, however, had not wanted to assume charge of the work in the first place and had never entered upon it very enthusiastically. Now he determined to leave the incompleted work and return to South Carolina. This he finally did, deserting on Christmas day 1756. Ever after this he was spoken of contemptuously by the Indians

143. De Brahm.

as the warrior who ran away in the night.

Though very much vexed by the desertion of De Brahm at this time, Demere did not give up the work. All the soldiers were moved within the walls of the fort and work was pushed forward rapidly. Fearing the proposed attack of the French, the force was increased by reinforcements from Charleston. Yet even with this increased force, it was about six more months before the fort was completed. It was called Fort Loudown, in honor of the Earl of Loudown, commander-in-chief of the English forces in America.[144]

When completed the fort was in the form of a rhombus, with two acute and two obtuse angular bastions. Each side of the fort was 300 feet in length and protected by a deep ditch and by a breastwork 21 feet in thickness. On the side parallel to the river, additional protection was afforded by a rocky precipice rising 41 feet from the water's edge. In the ditch around the fort, De Brahm planted a hedge of thorn bushes, which grew with such rapidity as to fill the ditch completely within a year. As Indians always fought naked, this hedge rendered the fort practically impregnable from their attack.

On each of the four bastions of the fort three cannons were mounted. These were of 16 ounce bore, and had been brought from Ft. Prince George with great difficulty. One Elliot, an Indian trader, had taken the contract to bring them over the mountains. He had succeeded in balancing each cannon on the back of a horse and lashing it with ropes to the horse's body. So great was the weight of the cannon, however, and so nearly impassable the trails, that in a

144. Hamer.

in a number of instances the cannon caught against the trunks of a tree and broke the backs of the horses carrying them.[145]

Throughout the entire time of the building of the Fort, Demere was forced to contend with French intrigues among the Indians. At the time of his arrival he found the Indians so enthusiastic at the prospect of securing two forts, and their welcome seemed so genuine that he concluded that Major Lewis had been mistaken in his estimate of conditions. Then too, to show their loyalty to the English the Cherokee fitted out an expedition against the French, on the Wabash soon after Demere's arrival; and in a number of ways showed that for the time being, at least, they were secured to the English interests. Yet as time went on Demere learned more and more the nature of the Cherokee and their duplicity of character. He finally concluded that after all the Indians were but "A commodity that are to be bought and sold, and he that gives the more to them at that time are their best friends. Their promises and friendship is not much to be depended upon. There is nothing but deceitfulness in them all."

From the time of Priber's location at Great Tellico, this town had been the seat of a party pro-French in sentiment and throughout all this time, they had been in constant communication with the French. News of this communication was brought to Demere, and he exerted himself to counteract French influences among them. So successful was he that for the time being he succeeded in winning over the dreaded Mankiller of Tellico. Yet he lived in constant expectation of an attack by the French and their allies. With the completion of the fort, however, Demere felt much more secure, and

145. De Brahm

during the spring and summer of 1757 he fitted out a number of expeditions against the French and their allies, promising rewards, for all scalps and prisoners taken. In June a party of ten Shawnee Indians arrived among the Cherokee, and Demere succeeded in killing three of them by a combined attack of the English and Cherokee.

In August Demere was recalled to Charleston and the Chief command of the fort was given to his brother, Capt. Paul Demere. During the ten months of his stay in the Cherokee country, Capt. Raymond Demere had been eminently successful. He had built Fort Loudown in spite of all difficulties; he had successfully counteracted French influences among the Cherokee; and he had won these Indians from doubtful friends to active allies of the English.[146]

146. Hamer.

Chapter VII.

THE CHEROKEE WAR.

English influence among the Cherokee reached its climax during the summer and fall of 1757. Though there had been some disaffection among them during the time of the construction of the Virginia fort and before the arrival of the South Carolina expedition, this had largely disappeared under the skillful diplomacy of Captain Raymond Demere. And, though the French were still active, their influence seemed to be on the wane, and the governors of both South Carolina and Virginia felt that the Cherokee were safely secured to the English interests.

It was unfortunate for the English cause, however, that just at this time the management of Indian affairs devolved upon men who were, to say the least, not very skillful in such management. Gov. Glen of South Carolina had been replaced by Gov. Littleton in 1756. Glen had made a number of mistakes in his management of Indian affairs, but, on the whole, his policies had been rather successful. Lyttleton, on the other hand, was ignorant of the Indian character, and his brief administration is noted as a period of mismanagement of Indian affairs. Gov. Dinwiddie was still at the head of affairs in Virginia, but the drain upon his time, caused by the French and Indian war and by his unlimited correspondence caused him to leave the management of the Indian affairs, in a large part, to others. At about this time, also, Sir Edmund Atkin was appointed Indian agent for all the southern colonies,[147]

147. Dinwiddie to Fox. Dinwiddie Papers Vol. II. p. 538.

and Dinwiddie depended upon him to a very great extent to manage Virginia's Indian affairs. Atkin does not seem to have possessed any special abilities that would recommend him for the office, and he played no great part in the developments of the succeeding years. But perhaps the greatest misfortune of the time was the removal of Capt. Raymond Demere from the chief command of Fort Loudoun. Demere was a close student of the Indian character and a man who seems to have won the respect of the Indians on all occasions. His brief stay at Fort Loudoun probably did more to bind the Cherokee to the English than any other one event.

Following the arrival of Maj. Lewis in Virginia after his expedition to construct the Virginia fort, Dinwiddie determined that he would not send a garrison for the time being. In a letter to the Lords of Trade he announced that the failure of the Cherokee to send warriors to his assistance was the reason why he deferred sending a garrison until he knew their intentions. He attributed the failure of the Cherokee to live up to their promises to the influence of the French and their allies the Creeks.[148] However, during the spring and summer of 1757, the Cherokee began to send numerous parties of warriors into Virginia to aid in the campaign against the French. Early in April about 300 Southern Indians arrived; and by May about 100 more increased this number. A large per cent of these were Cherokee.[149] By the latter part of May, practically all of the Southern Indians, except the Cherokee, grew weary of the war and returned home. One hundred and forty-eight of the Cherokee remained and continued to go out in parties

148. Dinwiddie to Lords of Trade. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 541.
149. Dinwiddie to Lord Loudoun. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 605.

against the enemy, occasionally bringing in a few scalps, for which they were paid. The commanding officers, however, found them hard to control, and quite frequently they were guilty of violence to the settlers of the surrounding country and also to the other allies of the English.[150] On the 14th of June the Man-Killer of Tellico arrived with 30 Cherokee and was sent against the enemy.[151] It is not known how long he remained converted to the English or what damage he inflicted upon his old friends, the French.

This sending of a comparitively large number of Cherokee warriors into Virginia caused this tribe to demand a garrison for the Virginia fort. In April Dinwiddie raised a force of 100 men for a garrison, but they were so badly needed at home that he was again forced to postpone sending them.[152] In the fall a similar request was made of him, but again he was forced to defer action until the spring, at which time he assured the Cherokee that he would send a garrison and a large supply of trading goods.[153] When spring came, however, Dinwiddie was not able to live up to his promises, and no garrison was ever supplied for the fort. It does not play any further part in the events of the time, and soon after this was completely destroyed by the Indians.[154]

In June 1757 Capt. George Croghan was sent by the colony of New York to visit the Cherokee, and, if possible, join them to the six nations by a treaty of alliance. Passing through Virginia he met three separate parties of Cherokee returning from scouting ex-

150. Dinwiddie to Lyttleton. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 633
151. Dinwiddie to Washington. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 640
152. Dinwiddie to Lyttleton Ibid. Vol. II. p. 602.
153. Dinwiddie to Cherokee. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 700
154. Timberlake. map.

peditions near Fort Duquesne. Two of the parties had scalps which they had recently taken from the French and their Indian allies.[155] Proceeding to Fort Loudoun, he met a delegation of the Cherokee and entered into an agreement with them to join with the six nations in a war against the French. The Cherokee promised to fight as long as they had a man, provided the English would keep them supplied with arms and ammunition.[156] Three of the Cherokee warriors accompanied Croghan to New York, where they met Sir William Johnston and the head men of the six nations in council, and confirmed the treaty of friendship between them.[157] A short time later Gov. Ellis of Georgia entered into an agreement with the Creeks, whereby they were to live in peace and friendship with his infant colony. Realizing the strength of the French influence among the Creeks, however, he was afraid to suggest that they go to war against that nation lest the French should use this to his disadvantage.[158]

In the first half of the following year plans were freely discussed for a campaign against Mobile and Fort Toulouse. In January Sec. Pitt asked Gov. Lyttleton to transmit to Admiral Boscawen all the information which he could secure regarding these two positions, and, if possible to secure pilots who were acquainted with the Mississippi and Mobile rivers.[159] Gov. Lyttleton was enthusiastic over the plan, and promised to secure a party of Cherokee and Catawbas for the campaign.[160] If these plans had been carried out, the war on the southern frontier would probably have terminated less

155. N. Y. Colonial Records. Vol. VII pp. 280-282.
156. Ibid. Vol. VII. p. 283.
157. Ibid. Vol. VII. p. 324
158. Ellis to Pitt. Correspondence of Wm. Pitt Vol. I. p. 130
159. Pitt to Lyttleton Ibid. Vol. I. p. 170
160. Lyttleton to Pitt. Ibid. Vol. I. pp. 387-392.

disastrously to the English. However, the expedition never materialized, and the French were left free to exert their influence in turning the Southern Indians against the English.

The year 1758 marked the turning point in the struggle between England and France for the favor of the Cherokee. Up to that time France had striven in vain to win over this powerful and warlike tribe. For almost half a century only disaster and discouragement had met her advances. At times it seemed as though she would gain a permanent foothold, but in the end England had always managed to win by a greater show of force and a greater liberality in bestowing gifts. Undaunted by these reverses France had labored on, and finally her patience was to be rewarded. It was the irony of fate, however, that success crowned the efforts of the French among the Cherokee too late to be of any real service in maintaining the empire in America. For the years 1758 and 1759 showed to the world that her empire in America was doomed. Louisburg, Duquesne, and Quebec sounded the knell of French hopes for a great colonial empire in the new world.

During the year 1757 the Cherokee seem to have been undivided in their allegiance to the English. It is true, that in the preceeding year Major Lewis had believed them to be on the point of deserting to the French, and also, during this same year, a party of Cherokee joined with the French Indians in a plundering expedition along the Broad and South Catawba Rivers.[161] Yet in 1757 they seem to have been completely won over to the English cause, as was shown by their hearty cooperation with Virginia in the war against

161. N. Y. C. R. Vol. V. p. 604.

the French. By 1758, however, a feeling of hostility toward the English had begun to develop. Gov. Lyttleton apparently was doing nothing to maintain the allegiance of these Indians and had he attempted to do so his ignorance of the Indian character would probably have rendered such efforts of no avail. Gov. Dinwiddie, also, by treating the Cherokee serving against the French with an ill-timed frugality, inspired in them a deep disgust toward Virginia and the English.in general.[162] On one occasion a party of ten Cherokee were imprisoned on the suspicion of being French spies; another party, returning from a hard campaign with their trophies of war, found neither agent nor interpreter to receive them or thank them for their services.[163] Yet in spite of all of these things a band of Cherokee of at least 200 men remained in Virginia throughout most of the year 1758 and served in the campaign against the French.

In the fall of 1758 the last campaign against Fort Duquesne was organized and carried out.[164] By the time the expedition was under way most of the Cherokee warriors had deserted because of what they considered to be the harsh measures enacted by Gen. Forbes in an attempt to secure some semblance of discipline among them. The few remaining Cherokee were on the point of deserting also, when a party of 60 additional warriors under Atta-kulla-kulla arrived upon the scene. By this time Gen. Forbes had become disgusted with his Indian allies, because of their lack of discipline and their

162. N. Y. C. R. Vol. VIIp. 277.
163. Goodpasture "Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest". Tenn. Hist. Magazine. Vol.IV p. 9
164. Forbes to Pitt. Pitt's Correspondence Vol. I. p. 295

independence of action. Yet he thought it well to make an attempt to retain the present band, especially since Virginia had been at so great expense to secure them. Accordingly he made them presents but did so in such an ungracious manner and treated them so suspiciously that the entire band deserted ten days before the fall of the Fort Duquesne. As soon as Gen. Forbes learned of their desertion he dispatched Col. Byrd to overtake them and relieve them of their arms and ammunition and those horses which had been furnished them for the campaign. Thus disarmed and dismounted, the Cherokee were given an armed escort to the frontier of Virginia, so that they might not be able to inflict any damage upon the inhabitants of this section. In spite of these things, however, the Cherokee succeeded in committing some depredations.[165] A few horses wandering loose in the woods, were captured, and, necessary provisions for the march were stolen in a number of cases from the German inhabitants of this section. This so enraged these settlers that they organized an expedition, and fell upon the unsuspecting Cherokee, killing a large number of them, variously estimated from 12 to 40. The scalps of those killed were later sold to the authorities for those of French Indians, and the bounty actually collected.[166]

When the remnant of the Cherokee band arrived in their own country and related their story of their treatment by the Virginians, there came an instant demand for retaliation. The flame of war spread rapidly throughout the nations. In vain the old men of the

165. Ibid. p. 10.
166. Adair. p. 245

tribe counseled peace. The young men were determined to have war. Nevertheless they were finally prevailed upon to forego the pleasure of a war against the English until a demand for satisfaction could be made of Virginia. The Virginians, however, merely ignored this demand; as did the Carolinians also, when it was presented them.[167] It is doubtful, however, if they could have given any satisfaction which would have calmed the warlike spirits of the young Cherokee warriors at this time.

This event was the very opportunity for which the French had been waiting, and her emissaries were too shrewd in the field of Indian diplomacy to allow the opportunity to pass. Through their ever faithful allies, the Creeks, they encouraged the Cherokee to declare war. The Creeks taunted them for their cowardice in allowing the English to murder their warriors without attempting to retaliate, and promised them assistance, including arms and ammunition from the French, if they would only declare war. At last the old chiefs of the nation bowed to the popular clamor. Instead of beginning a general war, however, they determined merely to take from the German inhabitants of Virginia, scalps equal in number to those of the arrriors slain upon the Duquesne expedition. When this was dine they would bury the bloody tomahawk and live in peace. Yet when the expedition set out, the young men proved unmanageable, and upon reaching the back settlements of North Carolina, they broke up into small bands and wandered about the country, burning, robbing, and murdering. Returning home, they murdered an

167. Ibid. p. 246

Indian trader and two soldiers of the garrison of Fort Loudoun.[168] These acts, however, were committed entirely by the Indians of the Over-hill towns. Among the lower and middle Cherokee as well as a large part of the Over-hills there was a strong sentiment against war with the English. If the Virginia or South Carolina agents had only played these two factions against each other a civil war might have been developed which would have removed all danger to the English. Instead they took just the opposite course and proceeded to alienate the affections of those who really favored them.[169]

Early in the fall of 1759 word reached Gov. Lyttleton of the condition of affairs in the Cherokee nation. He immediately demanded that the murderers of the North Carolina settlers and the soldiers of Fort Loudoun, be given up for punishment. Upon the Cherokee refusing to comply with this request, he ordered the militia to rendezvous at Congarees, and began making preparations for an active campaign against the Cherokee. He sent messengers to both North Carolina and Virginia asking for aid.[170] Virginia seems to have given no heed to his request, but the North Carolina assembly voted a supply of ammunition, and ordered Maj. Waddall to prepare his regiments of militia to march to the aid of South Carolina. When Maj. Waddell attempted to march his men out of the province, however, they mutinied, giving as their reason that their militia were not required by law to leave their own province to engage in war.[171]

168. Ibid. p. 247.
169. Ibid. p. 249
170. Dobbs to Pitt. Pitt's Correspondence Vol. 11. p.184
171. Dobbs to Assembly N. C. C. R. Vol. VI, p. 119.

These warlike preparations had an immediate effect upon the Cherokee. This was an argument which they could understand. A group of chiefs from the lower Cherokee, accompanied by a few of the Over-hills who were desirous of peace, set out immediately for Charleston to wait on Gov. Lyttleton.[172] When this deputation arrived in Charleston, Lyttleton was on the point of setting out to join the army assembled at the Congarees. Nevertheless he sent for the chiefs and made them an arroant speech, setting forth his demands for satisfaction and threatening vengeance if the Cherokee refused. When he had finished speaking, Oconostata arose to reply, but the governor refused to hear him. Lt. Gov. Gull, who was present, protested against this breach of Indian etiquette, but Lyttleton broke up the conference and soon after set out for the Congarees. The Cherokee chiefs, enraged at their treatment by the governor, were further humiliated by being forced to accompany Lyttleton on the march. Arriving at the place of rendezvous they were unexpectedly made prisoners, although the governor had previously assured them that "they should go home in safety and not a hair of their heads should be touched."

At the Congarees, Lyttleton assembled about 1400 militia, ill-armed, ill-disciplined and largely unmanageable. Soon after his arrival he started this army on the march to Fort Prince George; the Cherokee chieftains closely guarded to prevent their escape. Arriving at their destination the entire band of chieftains was

172. Dobbs to Pitt.Ibid. Vol. VI. p. 64

confined in a hut scarcely large enough for six soldiers. Finding that his army was growing mutinous, Lyttleton determined now to open negotiations with the Cherokee and endeavor to accomplish by diplomacy what he saw he could not accomplish by force. Accordingly he sent for Atta-kulla-kulla, who had shown himself through the past years to be the most consistent friend of the two men, Lyttleton insisted that twenty-four men be given up by the Cherokee to be punished as satisfaction for the men murdered by the Cherokee in the recent campaign. Atta-kulla-kulla promised to do all that he could to effect this, but did not believe that it could be done, as no man in the Cherokee nation had any coercive authority over another. He requested, however, that the Governor release some of the imprisoned warriors to aid him in an attempt to fulfill these conditions. Accordingly, the next day Lyttleton released Oconastota and two other of the imprisoned chieftains. On the day after their release they delivered up two Indians, who were immediately put in chains. As soon as the other Indians heard of this they fled to the mountains and hence it was impossible to fulfill the conditions demanded by Gov. Lyttleton. Seeing no hope of peace, Atta-kulla-kulla set out for home, but as soon as Gov. Lyttleton heard of it he sent messengers to overtake him and bring him back. In a second conference a treaty was drawn up and signed by Gov. Lyttleton and six of the Cherokee chiefs. In this it was agreed that the twenty-two chiefs should remain prisoners until the same number of Indians guilty of murder should be delivered up.

Trade should be carried on as usual and the Cherokee should put to death all Frenchmen whom they should meet. Having signed this treaty Gov. Lyttleton returned in triumph to Charleston and disbanded his army.[173]

On the whole this campaign was carried out very unwisely and undiplomatically. From beginning to end it was a series of blunders. Gov. Lyttleton instantly began the campaign by refusing to listen to the chiefs who were sent to treat with him concerning peace. He added fuel to the flame by holding them as hostages until the murderers should be given up for punishment. Being unaccustomed to the practice of giving hostages, the Indian mind was unable to differentiate between a hostage and a prisoner of war. This fact was further intensified by the Governor's perfidy in seizing the chiefs after having pledged his word to see that they would be given a safe return to their own country. But the crowning mistake of the entire campaign was the acceptance of a treaty as valid when signed by only six of the Cherokee chiefs. This campaign was the crowning blunder of Lyttleton's career as governor; and yet upon his return he was given an ovation which befitted a conqueror.

With the return of Gov. Lyttleton's forces the people of South Carolina felt that the crisis was past. North Carolina, however, could not so soon forget the devastation wrought by that vengeful band of Cherokee which had visited her frontiers. Accordingly, late in December 1759 her Assembly passed an act to keep

173. Hewith. pp. 216-226.

500 of her militia under arms until the following February.[174] It was well that she did so; for hardly had the shouting over Gov. Lyttleton's great victory died away before the Cherokee murdered fourteen men within a mile of Fort Prince George. A warlike spirit now swept over the entire Cherokee nation. Those Indians who had formerly been desirous of peace were now converted to war by Gov. Lyttleton's treacherous imprisonment of the band of chiefs.[175]

Oconastota, as head chief of the Cherokee nation assumed charge of the preparations for war. He first attempted a siege of Fort Prince George, but finding this unsuccessful, he restored to stratagem. An Indian woman was sent to Capt. Caytmore the commandant of the fort, asking for an interview. Not suspecting any treachery on the part of Oconastota, Capt. Caytmore and the two lieutenants in the fort met the chieftain on the banks of the river. While discussing a trip to Charleston to endeavor to secure the release of the imprisoned chieftains, Oconastota gave a prearranged signal and a hidden body of Indians opened fire, killing the captain and wounding both of the lieutenants.

Fearing that in case of an Indian attack the imprisoned chieftains would attempt to render aid to the attackers an order was given to put them in irons. In attempting to carry it out, however, one man was killed and two others were wounded. Enraged at this resistance, the garrison fell on the chiefs and massacred them to a man.[176]

When the news of this act reached the Cherokee their rage knew no bounds. There was hardly a town which had not lost a chief

174. Resolutions of Assembly, N. C. C. R. Vol. VI. p. 153.
175. Hewitt. p. 226
176. Ibid. p. 227

in the massacre, and they felt that the spirits of the murdered men cried for vengeance. The little opposition which had been heard before to a war with the English was now silenced. Bands of Cherokee swooped down upon the frontier, and carried fire and scalping knife into the very heart of the provinces. To add to these calamities, smallpox broke out in the seaboard towns and made it well-nigh impossible to organize the militia for a campaign against the Indians. In desperation Gov. Lyttleton appealed to Gen. Amherst for aid. In response to this appeal, Col. Montgomery with a battalion of Highlanders and four companies of Royal Scots, was sent to the aid of the province. Very soon after this Gov. Lyttleton was sent to Jamaica and Lt. Gov. William Bull assumed the leadership of affairs in South Carolina.[177]

With the departure of Lyttleton and the inauguration of Bull as governor, Indian affairs were managed much more efficiently in South Carolina. Gov. Bull was superior to his predecessor in every phase of Indian diplomacy, and he immediately demonstrated his fitness for the office by adopting an aggressive policy in the prosecution of this policy of war. Learning that Col. Montgomery would soon arrive in the province with his forces, the Governor appealed to both North Carolina and Virginia for aid in the campaign. North Carolina was herself so hard pressed by the relentless Cherokee that it was next to impossible for her to furnish aid. The first attack had been directed against her frontiers, and since that time there had been no letting up in the fury of the savage warfare within

177. Ibid. p. 228.

her borders. As a result of this, the Assembly had found it necessary to maintain a force on the frontiers for the protection of the back settlers. Late in February the boldness of the savages had so increased that they made a night assault on Fort Dobbs, but, largely through the bravery and good management of Major Waddell, the Indians were beaten off with considerable loss.[178] They still remained in the province, however, plundering and murdering; so that the Assembly was afraid to allow any soldiers to be withdrawn from her borders. Gov, Dinwiddie, however, upon receiving Gov. Bull's letter immediately called the Virginia Assembly together and placed the matter squarely before them.[179] As a result of his recommendations, resolutions we e adopted by the Assembly to raise 200 men to be joined to the 300 men already on the frontiers, and these were to march against the upper Cherokee. 15,000 pounds was also voted to pay the expenses of the expedition.[180]

The plan of campaign was for Col. Byrd with his Virginians to strike the Overhill Cherokee, while Col. Montgomery with his Veteran Scotch Army was to march through the Lower Country and up into the middle settlements. When a decisive blow had been struck it was believed the Indians would make peace, and then Col. Montgomery could return with his army to the conquest of Canada.[181]

Montgomery arrived in Charleston in April, and was received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants. A volunteer company was raised to join him in the campaign, and the militia was likewise called

178. Waddell to Assembly. N.C.C.R. Vol. VI. pp. 229,230.
179. Dinwiddie to Assembly. Journals of Va. House of Burgesses. Vol. V. p. 171
180. Resolutions of House of Burgesses. Ibid. Vol. p.173.
181. Hewith. p. 229

out. The entire force consisting of about 1650 men rendezvoused at Congaree and marched swiftly into the country of the Lower Country Cherokee. Beginning with the towns of Little Keowee and Estatoe, they surrounded, captured and destroyed every town of any consequence in the lower country. Montgomery moved so swiftly and struck so suddenly that the Cherokee were in some cases not even able to escape with their lives, and they made no effort to save their property, which was totally destroyed. With a loss of three or four men, he killed and captured about one hundred Indians and left their country virtually a desert. He then marched on to Fort Prince George and raised the seige of that fort.[182]

In accordance with the plan formed at the beginning of the campaign, Edmund Atkin, Indian agent for the Southern Colonies, now attempted to make peace with the Indians. He sent a message to the Over-hill Cherokee saying that if they would sue for peace it would be granted them without further chastisement; and at the same time he wrote to Capts. Demere and Stuart at Fort Loudoun at attempt to bring this about. The Indians, however, rejected the offer, and Col. Montgomery moved forward without delay. Five miles from the town of Etchoee in the middle settlements his army was ambushed in a narrow glen ideally situated for the purpose. After a bloody battle the Indians were driven from the field but Montgomery's loss was twenty killed and seventy-six wounded. With no place to leave the wounded men, and with his best horses stolen by a band of deserting rangers, Col. Montgomery was in a precarious

182. Ibid. p. 230.

situation. To advance was impossible, without sacrificing the wounded men to the tender mercies of the Cherokee. Consequently, it was decided to return to Charleston. Much of the flour was dumped into the river, and the wounded men were placed on the packhorses. After much suffering on their part, the army arrived at Fort Prince George and soon after marched to Charleston and sailed for Canada. However, in response to a frantic appeal from the Carolinians, Col. Montgomery left four companies of Royal Scots for the protection of the province. He has been severely criticised for retreating at the time he did and leaving the province virtually to the mercy of the savages. However, this retreat was the only thing possible at the time, and in leaving the province he was merely obeying orders from Gen. Amherst.[183]

Col. Byrd, who had been expected to strike the Over-hill Cherokee with his force of Virginians, was not very enthusiastic over the proposed expedition. With a force of only 500 men he delayed setting out upon the campaign as long as possible. Consequently, he was too late to be of any service, had he the inclination to do so. Arriving at the Holston River in June, he erected a post on Great Island and went into camp.[184]

Beginning with February 1760 a continuous siege of Fort Loudoun had been maintained. With the outbreak of hostilities the garrison had been among the first to suffer. Wandering alone into the woods and along the river bottoms to hunt a number of the soldiers had been cut off and murdered by the watchful Cherokee.

183. The London Chronicle Sept. 25, 1760; Hewitt pp. 231-3
184. Journals of Va. House of Burgesses. Vol. V. pp.274-6

After a few occurences of this kind orders were issued for no one to leave the fort under any consideration. At this time the garrison consisted of 100 men under Capt. Paul Demere and Capt. John Stuart. Naturally so large a company demanded a large supply of food, and as the fort was not very well provisioned, this early became a grave problem. The horses of the garrison were killed and eaten early in the seige, and soon after, the dogs shared the same fate. A few bears and some corn were secured from the Cherokee women by trading them ribbons and paint. When the warriors heard of this, however, they took steps to prevent it being done in the future. In the ditch about the fort, DeBrahm had, by mistake, planted some plum trees, thinking they were thorn bushes, and the fruit from these proved a welcome addition to their menu.[185]

Gov. Bull made valiant efforts to relieve the garrison, but, owing to the difficulties in the way this was almost impossible. Fort Loudoun was 450 miles from Charleston by the route which it was necessary to follow, and the intervening country afforded innumerable places where an ambush could be laid for any body of troops that might be sent to the relief of the fort. When Col. Montgomery began his march it was thought that he would be able to relieve the garrison or at least give them an opportunity to throw in a supply of provisions. But Montgomery retreated without bringing about either of these desired results. Gov. Bull then hoped that the Virginians would arrive in time to save the garrison, but Col. Byrd remained in his camp on the Holston without striking a single blow. It was even attempted to turn the Creeks against

185. DeBrahm p. 210 Hewitt. p. 237.

the Cherokee by a renewal of the Cherokee-Creek war of a few years previous. Gov. Ellis of Georgia was at one time able to attain some slight success in this line,[186] but on the whole, the French were too firmly established among the Creeks to make this possible. The Chickasaws were also approached, and at one time an expedition of 100 of their warriors was led into the Cherokee country,[187] but they did not accomplish anything toward the relieving of the garrison of Fort Loudoun. With the failure of all of these enterprises Gov. Bull realized that there was little hope of saving the garrison. Nevertheless he continued to smuggle ribbons and paint through the lines to the men to be traded to the Indian women for corn.[188]

The attempt to arouse the Creeks to attack the Cherokee and relieve the fort, at one time came very near ending disastrously. In May the Great Mortar arrived at Chote with a band of Creeks, and planned to seize the fort by pretending friendship for the English. Atta-kulla-kulla, however, learned of the plan and informed Capt. Demere. Also by his influence he was able to hinder the carrying out of the proposed plan.[189]

On May 16 Capt. Demere reported to Gov. Bull that at the rate of a pint of corn each day their provisions could not last more than another month.[190] From this time on their situation became more and more hopeless. Yet they were able to hold out till early in August, when the men became unmanageable. They preferred death at the hands of the Indians rather than a slow starvation. Accordingly Capt. John Stuart was sent to Chote to treat with the Indians in an

186. Ellis to Pitt. Pitt's Correspondence. Vol. II. p. 277.
187. Bull to Dobbs. N.C.C.R. Vol. VI. pp. 259-260
188. Bull to Dobbs. Ibid. p. 262
189. Bull to Dobbs. Ibid. p. 261
190. Ibid. p. 262

attempt to get the best possible terms for the surrender of the garrison. The Articles of Capitulation were finally agreed on as follows:

I. "The garrison of Fort Loudoun shall march out with their arms and drums, each soldier having as much powder and ball as their officer shall think necessary for the march, and what baggage he may choose to carry.

II. The garrison shall be permitted to march for Virginia or Fort Prince George, as the commanding officer shall think proper, unmolested, and a number of Indians shall be appointed to escort them and to hunt for provisions on the march.

III. Such soldiers as are lame or by sickness disabled from marching shall be received in the Indian towns and kindly used until they recover, and then to be returned to Fort Prince George.

IV. The fort, great guns, powder, ball, and spare arms shall be delivered to the Indians without any fraud, on the day appointed for the march of the troops."

This agreement was signed by Capt. Paul Demere and two Indian Chieftains, Oconastota and Cunni Catague.[191]

According to the terms of the agreement the garrison marched out on August 9. On their first day's march they were able to cover about 16 miles and encamped on Crane Creek near the town of Great Tellico. Thus far the Indians had fulfilled their agreement by accompanying the garrison as guides. When night came, however, all of them deserted on some pretext or other. On the following

191. Journals of Va. House of Burgesses. Vol. V. pp.286,287.

morning the camp was attacked and captured after a brief defense. All the officers except. Capt. Stuart, and twenty-five men were killed#. The remaining men were immediately marched back to Fort Loudoun as prisoners. On the march they were beaten in the face with the wet scalps of the slain men. When they arrived at the fort the men were placed under guard, and the following night one man was burned at the stake.[192]

As soon as Atta-kulla-kulla heard that his friend, Capt. Stuart, was among the prisoners, he came immediately to his rescue and succeeded in ransoming him. He then took possession of the house of Capt. Demere at Fort Loudoun, and entertained Capt. Stuart as his guest. A few days later, however, he was forced to use his utmost endeavors to save the life of his friend, due to the finding of a large quantity of powder and ball buried in the fort. Atta-kulla-kulla, however, assured the Cherokee that this was done without the knowledge of Capt. Stuart, and his life was spared.[193]

Flushed with victory, the Cherokee now determined that they would attack Fort Prince George and reduce it as they had done Fort Loudoun. The prisoners were informed that they would be expected to aid in the expedition against their fellow countrymen, and in addition the Great Mortar arrived with a band of Creeks and ten Frenchmen. Everything seemed to point to the success of the undertaking. The surrender of Fort Loudoun had given the Cherokee a large supply of arms and ammunition, and if the prisoners could

192. London Chronicles. Dec. 16, 1760; Bull to Dobbs, N. C. C. R. Vol. VI. p. 313; Hewitt. p. 238

193. Hewitt. pp. 238,239.

This number has been variously estimated. I am quoting here from N. C. C. R. Vol. VI. p. 313.

be forced to man the cannon there was no reason why the fort could not be taken. Fort Prince George also was not very defensible at this time and the supply of provisions was not very good. In addition to these things Gov. Lyttleton had left there a large supply of arms, ammunition, and presents for the Indians, which made the capture of the fort all the more desirable to the Indians.[194]

While the forces were being collected, Capt. Stuart was summoned before the Cherokee chiefs and informed that he would be expected to command the expedition and write all the necessary letters, as they were dictated by the Indians. He was further informed that should the commander of Fort Prince George refuse to surrender, all of the prisoners would be burned before the fort one at a time. Upon being informed of these things Capt. Stuart sought out Atta-kulla-kulla and told him that he would suffer death rather than fight against his countrymen. Accordingly the old chief began making preperations for the escape of his friend. He informed the Cherokee that he was going on a great hunt and would take his prisoner with him. The two set out in a northerly direction, and traveling by forced marches succeeded in reaching Col. Byrd's camp on the Holston. Here Atta-kulla-kulla was loaded down with presents and sent back to the Cherokee to use his influence in saving the lives of the prisoners.

Capt. Stuart immediately informed Gov. Bull of the developments in the Cherokee country and of the proposed attack on Fort prince George. He then set about attempting to ransom the prisoners, which he was finally able to do by a generous use of presents.[195]

194. Bull to Dobbs. N. C. C. R. Vol. VI pp. 313,314.
195. Hewitt. pp. 241-242.

Gov. Bull now exerted himself to save Fort Prince George from the fate of Fort Loudoun. By means of a company of rangers he succeeded in supplying the garrison with beef, and the fortifications were strengthened in anticipation of the coming attack. The militia of the province was increased by the raising of a new regiment of 1000 men, and an attack was planned on the Cherokee from each of the three provinces of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.[196] The plan never materialized, however, because of Col. Byrd being withdrawn from his camp at Great Island. He had remained in camp there throughout the entire summer without striking a blow at the Cherokee, although the forces under him had been increased to 1000 men.[197] North Carolina also was unable to furnish any aid at this time, although her Assembly in July had provided for the raising of 300 more men for the militia and had given the governor power of sending them out of the provinces. Her frontiers, however, had been visited so many times by the Cherokee that it was thought best to station these men there for the protection of the back settlers.[198]

Seeing no hope of securing any aid from the neighboring provinces, Gov. Bull again applied to Gen. Amherst for aid. With Canada virtually conquered at this time, Gen. Amherst could better spare men for an expedition. Accordingly he ordered Col. James Grant to Charleston for the purpose of chastising the Cherokee. Grant arrived in the province early in 1761 and spent the remainder of the winter there. The troops were royally entertained by the citizens who felt that at last their Indian trouble were almost at

196. Bull to Dobbs. N.C.C.R. Vol. VI. pp. 313,314.
197. Fauquieur to Lords of Trade, Journals of Va. House of Burgesses. Vol. V. p. 289.
198. Dobbs to Pitt. N.C.C.R. Vol. VI. p.266

at an end.

In May Col. Grant gathered the different parts of his army together at the Congarees. In addition to the royal regiment under his command, a provincial regiment had been assembled under Col. Middleton, and a band of Chickasaws and Catawbas had been engaged. In all there were about 2600 men engaged to crush the Cherokee.[199]

The plan of campaign was practically the same as that of the campaign under Col. Montgomery with the exception that this was to be more thorough. Col. Grant was to move up through the lower country to the middle settlements, while Col. Byrd with 1000 Virginians was to descend on the upper settlements and thus hem the Cherokee between the two armies.[200] North Carolina had also been asked to raise a regiment for the campaign but had not done so.[201]

Col. Grant arrived at Fort Prince George on May 27. Hearing of his approach Atta-kulla-kulla came down and asked for peace. Col. Grant treated the old chieftain courteously but told him that peace was impossible as long as so many of the Cherokee were desirous of war. On June 7, the army marched out, carrying provisions for a thirty day campaign. They met with no real opposition until the fourth day when they reached the scene of Col. Montgomery's disastrous victory, near the village of Etchoe. Here they were badly attacked by the Cherokee. The battle raged from eight to eleven in the morning with the result always in doubt. At the end of this time, however, the Indians withdrew, carrying most of their dead with them. Grant's loss was eleven killed and fifty-two wounded.

199. Hewitt. pp. 247-248.
200. Byrd to Amherst. Journal of Va. House of Burgesses Vol. V. p. 271
201. Ibid. Vol. V. p. 269.

As soon as the Cherokee withdrew, Grant marched on Etchoe and burned the town. Then for about thirty days the army wandered about in the Cherokee country without opposition, burning fourteen other towns and destroying approximately 1400 acres of corn just ready to ripen. The Indians fled to the mountains and did not offer to oppose Grant's victorious march. At the end of thirty-three days the army returned to Fort Prince George to await developments.[202]

In the meantime Col. Byrd was employing virtually the same tactics as in the preceeding campaign. It was in January that Gen. Amherst called on Virginia for 1000 men to aid in the campaign, and in March Byrd had orders to be in the upper Cherokee country by May1. Finding Byrd very dilatory about carrying out his orders, Lt.-Gov. Fauquieur ordered him late in April to complete his regiment at once and prepare to march against the Cherokee. By the middle of May the regiment was still incomplete, and Byrd seemed in no hurry to bring about its completion. Gen. Amherst then ordered him to proceed at once with what men he had and not to wait for a completion of the regiment. Nevertheless it was late in July when Byrd arrived at his old camp at Great Island in the Holston. Here he established himself, seemingly with the intention of remaining indefinitely. Hearing of his arrival, Atta-kulla-kulla visited him asking him for peace. Byrd, however, had no power to make peace, and, accordingly recommended the chieftain to Gov. Bull of South Carolina. In August, Gen. Amherst became impatient at

202. Amherst to Pitt. Pitt's Correspondence. Vol. II. pp. 262-465. also Hewitt pp. 249-250.

Byrd's long delay and urged him to proceed against the Over-hill towns. Soon after this Byrd resigned his command and prepared to set out for Virginia. Gen. Amherst, however, ordered him to remain with the regiment; this Byrd finally did and soon after returned to Virginia without striking a blow.[203] Throughout both campaigns Byrd conducted himself like an arrant coward, and rendered Virginia's forces worse than useless in both campaigns.

While Col. Grant was at Fort Prince George waiting for a development of events, Atta-kulla-kulla, with a number of other Cherokee chiefs, arrived on the scene and asked for peace. Col. Grant received them courteously and informed them that he was willing to sign such a treaty. As a price of making peace with them, however, he demanded that four Cherokee warriors be given up to be put to death before the fort, or else four green scalps be brought in to him. This the Cherokee refused to do, and for a time it seemed that peace proposals would fail on this one point. Finding the delegation determined not to yield this point, Grant referred them to Gov. Bull at Charleston. In a conference held there, the pipe of peace was smoked and the governor wisely agreed to eliminate this troublesome provision. A treaty was signed establishing relations practically the same as before the opening of the conflict, and thus the Cherokee war came to an end.[204] Yet for two years after northern Indians raided the Cherokee country until they were finally forced to call on the colonies for aid.[205]

203. Journals of Va. House of Burgesses Vol. V. pp. 269,271, 273, 275, 279, 280.
204. Hewitt. pp. 252, 253.
205. Johnson to Amherst. N. Y.C. R. Vol. VII. p. 542.

In 1763 peace was made between England and France, and thus the principal cause of friction between the Cherokee and the English was removed. As long as these two European nations vied with each other for the favor of the Indians a period of turmoil was bound to ensue. This was the principal cause of the Cherokee war; though the arrogant nearsighted policy of the Colonial statesmen was also largely to blame. With the removal of these causes of friction, however, another and graver cause loomed on the horizon- the encroachment of the white man on the hunting grounds of the Indians. This policy was destined to bring about in future years other wars as bloody and desperate as the one that had just passed and these were to continue until the Cherokee was driven from the hunting grounds of his fathers and forced to wander a stranger in a strange land.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

SOURCES.

Adair, James : History of the American Indian. London. 1775.

Alvord, C. W. and Bidgood, Lee : The First Exploration of the Trans-Allegheny region by the Virginians. Cleveland. 1912.

DeBrahm, Wm. : "Philosophico-Georgraphico-Hydrography of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida." in Weston, Plowden, C. J., Documents connected with the History of South Carolina. London. 1856.

Dinwiddie, Robt. : The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie. Richmond. 1883. 2 volumes.

Kennedy, J. P. : (Editor) Journal of the House of Burgesses of Virginia. Richmond. 1907. 13 volumes.

Kimball, G. S. : (Editor) Correspondence of William Pitt, New York and London. 1906. 2 volumes. London Chronicle 1760.

Mereness, N. D. : (Editor) Travels in the American Colonies. New York. 1916.

O'Callaghan, E. B. : (Editor) Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York. Albany, 1856. 12 volumes.

Saunders, W. L. : (Editor) North Carolina Colonial Records. Raleigh, 1886. 10 volumes.

Timberlake, Henry : Memoirs. London. 1765. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. XIII.

SECONDARY MATERIAL

Alvord, C. W. : Illinois Country. Chicago. 1922.

Bassett, J. S. : (Editor) Writings of Col. William Byrd. New York 1901.

Byrd, William : History of the Dividing Line. Richmond. 1886.

Crane, V. W. : "The French on the Tennessee" in Mississippi Valley Historical Review. Vol. XXIV

Crane, V. W. : "A Lost Utopia of the American Frontier" in the Sewanee Review. Vol. XXVII.

Crane, V. W. : "The Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War" in the American Historical Review. Vol. III.

DuBose, J. C. : Sketches of Alabama History. Philadelphia. 1901.

Goodpasture, J. D. : "Indian Wars and Warriors of the old Southwest" In the Tennessee Historical Magazine, Vol. III.

Hewatt, Alexander : Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia. London 1779.

Hamer, P. M. : Fort Loudoun.

Logan, John H. : History of Upper South Carolina. Vol. I. Charleston. 1859.

McCrady, E. : South Carolina under the Proprietary Government. New York 1901.

Pickett, A. J. : History of Alabama. Birmingham. 1887.

Ramsay, D. : History of South Carolina. Charleston 1809.

Ramsey, J. G. : Annals of Tennessee. Charleston. 1853.

Royce, C. C. : Cherokee Nation of Indians. (From Bureau of American Ethnology, 5th Annual Report) Washington, 1887.

Wallace, D. D. : Life of Henry Laurens. New York, 1915.

Winsor, Justin : Mississippi Basin. Boston. 1895.

APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY
3 0346 0095861 2

DATE DUE

NOV 1 8 1988
DEC 1 3 1994
DEC 1 0 1995
DEC 0 2 '96
MAR 3 0 1998
Nov. 10, 1999

GAYLORD PRINTED IN U.S.A.

JULY 72
N. MANCHESTER, INDIANA